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1940

# ETNOLOGISKA STUDIER

11

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gún el manuscrito de Guaman  
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# ETNOLOGISKA STUDIER

11



1940

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**Fil. dr. WALTER KAUDERN,**  
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# El antiguo ábaco peruano según el manuscrito de Guaman Poma

por

Henry Wassén

(Museo Etnográfico, Göteborg)

## P R E F A C I O

En 1931 publiqué bajo el título «*The Ancient Peruvian Abacus*»<sup>1</sup> una obra basándome en el manuscrito de Guaman (Huaman) Poma de Ayala «*El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*» en Copenhagen, entonces aún sin publicar, mostrando que en el imperio de los Inca. para las cuentas en *quipu* se usaban evidentemente tableros para la ejecución de operaciones aritméticas, esto es, como ayuda para recibir el resultado que después se anudaba en los hilos de un *quipu*.

Varios motivos han justificado una nueva edición de esta obra. El trabajo nunca fué publicado en ninguna revista sino que fué impreso en una publicación privada, que naturalmente no es tan fácil de conseguir como sería el caso con una revista. También llegó a mi conocimiento, varios años después de aparecer la publicación, que el americano L. Leland Locke, reconocida capacidad en el estudio de los quipus, un año después de que mi trabajo apareciera y basándose en éste, publicó en la revista americana *Scripta Mathematica* (sept. 1932, págs. 37—43) un folleto que denominó con el mismo título que yo usé en la relación de mi obra.<sup>2</sup>

Con la asistencia de mi amigo Dr. Walter Kaudern, editor de «*Etnologiska Studier*», me ha sido posible una vez más imprimir el trabajo, escogiendo el idioma español en vez del inglés, pues, para los estudios e investigaciones americanistas, es y será siempre un idioma de transcendental importancia.

También he pensado en la nueva elaboración y edición de la obra de Guaman Poma que ha sido llevada a cabo por el eminente erúdito peruano Dr. Julio C. Tello y que es de esperar que continúe.<sup>3</sup> Como es natural, se basa esta nueva edición peruana en la edición facsímile del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad de París.<sup>4</sup>

Gracias a la publicación facsímile del manuscrito y los comentarios del Dr. Tello y otros autores, he podido excluir en esta versión española algunas notas preliminares y referencias textuales de mi obra de 1931. Por otro lado, he hecho algunas modificaciones e incluido varios citados de antigua procedencia española, que parecen corroborar con la tesis que he expuesto. Es muy probable que se encuentren aún más referencias de procedencia española y estoy convencido de que la activa investigación peruana las publicará más tarde.

Como en la versión inglesa de este ensayo, deseo expresar mi sincera gratitud a mi amigo *K. G. Tengstrand* de Gotemburgo, por su valiosa ayuda e interés que mostró en 1931 para encontrar una explicación sobre el ábaco de Guaman Poma. Por último, doy mis más cordiales agradecimientos por la eficaz ayuda que, en la traducción del manuscrito, me han prestado la señora *Consuelo Quiroga de Gerring* del Colegio Superior de Comercio en Gotemburgo, y Don *Francisco Eguiguren H.*, Cónsul del Perú en la misma ciudad.

Gotemburgo, Octubre de 1940.

*El autor.*

## Datos de Guaman Poma y otros autores

· «El que procura contar las estrellas, no sabiendo aun contar los tantos y ñudos de las cuentas, digno es de risa.»

Dicho sentencioso del Inca Pachacutec según Padre Blas Valera y el inca Garcilasso de la Vega (*Commentarios Reales*, Libro VI, Cap. 36).

La página 360 del manuscrito de Guaman Poma (figura 1) muestra un *quipucamayoc* sosteniendo en sus manos un *quipu*. Sobre el dibujo se lee: «*Cotador maior i tesorero tauantinsuio quipoc curaca condor-chava.*» El título quichua «*curaca*» (jefe, principal) detalla la alta posición oficial que este personaje ocupaba en el imperio incaico. El manuscrito indica además que este *curaca* era hijo de «*apo*», palabra que en el diccionario quichua de González de Holguin (1901, pág. 29) está traducida como «Señor grande, juez superior». *Condor-chava* (*kuntur chawa*) se traduce como insignia de cóndor.<sup>5</sup>

Este dibujo no es el único que en el manuscrito muestra tesoreros o secretarios con quipus en las manos. Ya Montell (1929, figura 86) reprodujo la página 335 del mismo manuscrito, representando un administrador de depósitos sosteniendo un quipu y dando informe al «*topa ynga yupanqui*» delante de los «*depocitos del ynga*». Se encuentran además otras figuras con quipus en el manuscrito, en las páginas 202, 348, 358, 800 y 883. (Véase figuras 2, 3 y 4).

Sin embargo, lo más interesante en la página 360 es la figura que se ve en la parte inferior de la esquina izquierda. Es un rectángulo compuesto de 4×5 cuadros, marcados sistemáticamente con pequeños círculos o puntos. Es este detalle del dibujo que más nos ocupará, pues, no cabe duda que tenemos ante nosotros un tablero o ábaco, que bien se puede suponer ser una invención peruana y que, según sé, no ha sido aún descrita.



Fig. 1. La página 360 del manuscrito de Guaman Poma con el dibujo de un ábaco.



# DEPOCITO DEL INGA COLL CA



como

Fig. 2. La página 335 del libro de Guaman Poma, que representa un administrador informando al Inca. Según Montell.



271



34



800



Fig. 3. Cuatro páginas del libro de Guaman Poma mostrando el uso de quipus en el imperio incaico. A, pág. 202; B, pág. 348; C, pág. 800 y D, pág. 883.



Fig. 4. Dibujo de Guaman Poma de un *quipucamayoc*. Pág. 358 del manuscrito.

Antes de proceder, veamos si el mismo Guaman Poma ha anotado algo de interés concerniente a los métodos aritméticos de un *quipucamayoc*. Desde luego llama la atención en el manuscrito la página 361 (figura 5), en la que, sin hacer correcciones ortográficas o gramaticales, aparte de escribir con todas las letras algunas abreviaciones, leemos lo siguiente:

«Contador I Tezorerero Contador mayor deto doeste rreyno condorchaua hijo de apo aeste le llamauan tauantinsuyo runaquipoc yncap haziendan chasquicoc tezorerero mayor dize que este prencipal tenia grande auilidad para sauer su auilidad el ynga mando contar y numirar ajustar conlos yndios deste rreyno con la lana del cierto taruga enparexaua con lalana alos yndios y enparexaua con una comida llamado quinua contaue la quinua y los yndios fue muy grande su auilidad mejor fuera en papel y tinta — contador mayor hatunhuchaquipoc — contador menor huchuy huchaquipoc — *cuentan en tablas* — *numiran de cien mil y de dies mil y de ciento y de dies hasta llegar auna* deto do lo que pasan eneste rreyno lo asienta y fiestas y domingos y meses y años y en cada ciudad y uilla y pueblos de yndios auia estos dichos contadores y tesoreros eneste rreyno y contaue destamanea comensando de uno dos y tres suc — yscay — quinza — taua — pichica — zocta — canchis — puzac — yscon — chunga — yscaychunga — quinzachunga — tauachunga — piscachunga — zoctachunga — canchischunga — pozacchunga — ysconchunga — pachaca — uaranga — chungauaranga — huno — pachacahuno — uarangahuno — pantacachuno».

Si analizamos los datos que el autor da en un idioma defectuoso y mezclado con quichua, vemos: 1º) que «el contador maior», «*hatunhuchaquipoc*», poseía una gran habilidad en su profesión; 2º) que el Inca lo mandaba por su reino para llevar y tomar cuentas y 3º) que él sumaba y contaba la población india con la ayuda de la lana de una taruga<sup>6</sup> y quinua, y era más habil en contar de esta manera que haciéndolo con papel y tinta. También leemos lo que es de mayor importancia sobre este respecto, que el contador mayor, *hatunhuchaquipoc*, y el contador menor, *huchuy huchaquipoc*, *contaban en tableros y numeraban del 1 al 100.000*. También se dice que había contadores y tesoreros en todos los pueblos y ciudades del reino que llevaban cuenta de todo hecho importante, así como también de las «fiestas y domingos» (semanas en el idioma del autor) y «meses y años». Este dato es muy interesante ya que en cierto grado confirma la teoría presentada por Nordenskiöld (1925 a—b y 1931) en sus investigaciones de los quipus, en donde opina que en muchos de éstos hallados en sepulcros se encuentran cálculos cronológicos.

# CONTA DOR TESO RERO CONDICION

yor de la p... conbor... d... de a  
 po- aeste le llamaban tauantinsuyo runaqui  
 poc yncap hazien dan chasqui coc- tesorero  
 mayor dize q este principal teniagran de au  
 lidad para sauer su auelidad el yngomando  
 contar y numixar ajustar con los yns des te  
 rey no- con la lana del ciervo- tauaga enpare  
 xaua colalana alos yns- y enparexaua con una  
 comida llamado quinua contaua la quinua  
 los yns fue muy grande su auelidad mejor fueza  
 en papel y tinta- contador mayor hatun huch  
 quipoc- contador menor huchuy huchay  
 poc- cuentan en tablas- numixan de cien mil  
 y de dies mil y de ciento y de dies has tallegar  
 auna dize solo que pasan en este rey no lo au  
 enta y fiestas y domingos y meses y años y  
 cada ciudad y villa y pueblos deys auia estos  
 dhos conta dores y tesoreros en este rey no y co  
 taua de esta manera comensando de uno dos y tres  
 sue- yscay- quinza- taua- pichica- zocta- can  
 chis- puzac- yscay- chunga- yscaychunga- pa  
 za chunga- tauachonga- piscachunga- zoctachunga  
 canchischunga- pozachunga- yscachunga- pachaca  
 uaranga- chungauaranga- huno- pachacahu  
 no- uarananga- huno- pan tacac huno  
 taripa coc

Fig. 5. Página 361 del texto de Guaman Poma.

Son también interesantes otras declaraciones hechas por Guaman Poma, por las que se comprende que los quipus desempeñaban un papel importante en los cálculos cronológicos y astronómicos. En la página 235 escribe, en el capítulo primero sobre las cuentas que los Incas llevaban sobre los años y meses *«los filosofos y astrologos antiguos contaúan la semana dies dias y treinta dias un mes y anci por esta se seguia y se seruia con ella y conocia por las estrellas lo que abia de pasar el ano»* etc.; y en la pág. 260 dice:

«— — — de un dia hasta dies es una semana llegauan a treinta dias o treinta un dia o dos conforme el menguante desde menguante aquello tenia por orden del creciente de la luna — los dichos doze meses se contaúa un ano y por esta orden hacia quipo de gastos y multiplico y de todo lo que pasaua en este reyno en cada ano y los filosofos astrologos para senbrar y coger las comidas y uiandas y para otras ocasiones y orden y gouierno se regian con sus quipos y con mucha claridad y distincion lo que se a gastado consumido en que mes y en que ano paso dauan relacion en ello» — — —

En la pág. 884 confirma el cargo que los indios filósofos y astrólogos tenían entonces y sabían *«las oras y domingos y dias y meses año para senbrar y rrecoger las comidas de cada año»*. En la pág. 260 también nos da informaciones de observaciones solares directas que se parecen, entre otras, a las de Garcilasso de la Vega. Dice:

«— — — y para no herrar la ora y dia se ponian a mirar en una quebrada y miraua el salir y apuntar del rayo del sol de la manana como uiene por su ruedo volteando como relojó entiende de ello y no le engana un punto el reloxo de ellos que seis meses volteá a lo derecho y otros seis a lo izquierdo vuelve y así comienza del mes» — — —

En la pág. 884 detalla él más sus informaciones acerca de las observaciones solares:

«— — — se acaua todo el mes al ruedo del andar del sol comensando otra vez de enero en este dho mes se cienta en su cilla como dho es y acá va cada año y para sauer las oras y minutos dize el astrologo q̃ apunta muy de mañana el rrayo del sol y la claridad se a de uer de una uentana la claridad adonde da o q̃ se ponga a mirar al serro por donde sale y anda y buelbe y se aciente» etc.

Me ha parecido interesante hacer resaltar brevemente estos datos de Guaman Poma, que confirman los siguientes del Padre Christoval de Molina, de Cuzco, por los que se deduce que el quipu también fué usado como especie de calendario:

« —, no obstante que ussavan de una quenta muy subtil de unas ebras de lana de dos ñudos y puesta lana de colores en los ñudos los quales llaman *quipos* entendianse y entiendense tanto por esta quenta que dan razon de mas de quinientos años de todas las cossas que en esta tierra en este tiempo an passado: tenian yndios yndustriados y maestros de los dichos *quipos* y quantas y estos yban de generacion en generacion mostrando lo pasado y empapandolo en la memoria a los que avian de entrar, que por maravilla se olvidaban cosa por pequeña que fuese tenian en estos *quipos* que cassi son a modo de pavilos con que las biejas reçan en nuestra España salvo ser remales tenian tanta quenta en los años messes y luna detal suerte que no avia lunar, luna, año ni mes aunque no con tanta pulicia como despues que *Ynga Yupanqui* empeço a señorear y conquistar esta tierra; porque hasta entonces los yngas no avian salido de los alrededores del *Cuzco*. Como por la relacion que V.<sup>a</sup> S.<sup>a</sup> Rma. tiene, parece este ynga fue el primero que empeço a poner quenta y razon en todos las cossas y el que quito cultos y discultos y ceremonias que en cada uno dellos hacen, porque no obstante que antes que reynasen sus antecesores, tenian meses y años por sus *quipos*, no se regian con tanto concierto como despues que este fue señor que se regian por los ynviernos y veranos». (Molina, 1913, págs. 125—126).<sup>7</sup>

Estas notas son importantes ya que este autor conocía a fondo la lengua quichua y empezó a escribir relativamente temprano, por lo que puede considerarse como muy verídico.

También en el documento publicado por Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, en 1892, bajo el título *Una antigualla peruana* y que, según Means (1931, pág. 566), fué escrito para el Gobernador C. Vaca de Castro que gobernó el Perú de 1541 hasta 1544, hay datos sobre los *quipucamayocs*, y como éstos habían ejecutado y llevado cuentas cronológicas con sus quipus. He aquí parte de los datos del manuscrito:<sup>8</sup>

«Estos quipucamayos habian sido á manera de historiadores ó contadores de la razon, y fueron muchos, y en todos ellos habia

conformidad en sus quipos y cuentas; no tenían otro ejercicio más de tener gran cuenta con sus quipos así del origen y principio de los ingas, como de cada uno en particular, desde el día que nascian cada uno, como de las demas cosas acontecidas en tiempo de cada señor déellos . . . » (Pág. 6).

«Por las cuentas de los quipos que estos contadores de los ingas daban, era desde el día que nacia el inga y del tiempo y años y edad [en que] tomaban la posicion (*sic*) del señorío y la edad que tenia al tiempo que la tomaba cada uno de ellos, y los años que reinaba, hasta su fin y muerte, y entraba otro sucesor con la misma cuenta así subcesivamente desde el primer inga, que fué Mango Capac, hasta el postrero, que fué Vascar Inga; y éste, por la cuenta, no se halló que habia señoreado más de dos años y cuatro meses, que luego le mataron. *Estos años y meses que daban por cuenta, eran meses y años lunares, dando á cada mes de una conjuncion de luna á otra; y destos meses lunares daban doce al año, dando su nombre á cada mes.* » (Pág. 7)<sup>9</sup>

También tiene interés comparativo citar algunos datos que el padre Nicolás Armentia trajo de su viaje por el circuito del Rio Madre de Dios en 1885, en que visitó los Araonas y Cavinás («viven en el rio Manuripi, en las inmediaciones del Madre de Dios, en ambas bandas». *Viaje del Padre Armentia*, pág. 50). Armentia dice en la página 64 de los Araonas:

«Llevan también en sus templos la cuenta de los años; por medio de marlos de maíz, que representan las chacras que han hecho y campamentos que han ocupado. También llevan la cuenta de las lunas, por medio de piedras: y al terminar una luna, retiran la piedra que la representa; y que todo el tiempo de la duración de la luna, ha estado en medio, separada de las demás. Al aparecer la nueva luna, la saludan estrepitosamente, y el Yanacona [sacerdote] separa una nueva piedra».

De la relación de Armentia se tiene la impresión que esas tribus de tierra baja aprendieron en lo que se refiere a los cálculos cronológicos, de los pueblos de las montañas occidentales.<sup>10</sup> Según Armentia, los Araonas contaban con 12 meses y además un décimotercio *uipabadi* «que es luna complemental, y la añaden cada tres años» (págs. 64—65).

Volviendo al dibujo en la página 360 en el manuscrito de



Guaman Poma (figura 1), opino que el rectángulo a cuadros representa un ábaco — con cuya ayuda podían los indios ejecutar sus operaciones aritméticas — y que los resultados eran después anudados en los hilos del quipu. Quien haya visto varios quipus, comprenderá que hubiera sido poco práctico, si no imposible, llevar cuentas *deshaciendo* los nudos a veces muy fuertes y bien hechos. Por eso opino que los quipus deben ser considerados generalmente como el resultado y registro de las cuentas. Por lo mismo no puedo estar de acuerdo con lo que Nordenskiöld dice en 1925 b, pág. 21:

« — — — but we must remember that counting with quipus must have been very easy owing to the clear disposition of the numbers, which had a value according to their position. If we lay out a quipu so that all the units lie properly in place, and all the tens, etc., it is almost as easy to add and subtract with a quipu as working with Arabic characters on a piece of paper. We may be sure that an Indian did not have to sit long fingering the knots in order to discover their value; his eye would certainly be able at a glance to distinguish between a 5-knot and a 6-knot, etc. »

Leland Locke opina del mismo modo que yo, diciendo (1923, p. 32):

« *The quipu was not adapted to calculation.* For this purpose small pebbles and grains of maize were used. These facts are known both from numerous statements to this effect and also from the archaeological specimens of the pebbles and tables of stone separated into compartments for the purpose of calculation. The so-called Quichua language was rich in number words ».

Con la asistencia del dibujo de Guaman Poma se ve que el ábaco consistía en  $4 \times 5$  cuadrados con 5, 3, 2 y 1 agujeros, respectivamente. Para contar se usaban piedrecitas, granos y semillas, o cosas por el estilo. Que se usaban piedrecitas es confirmado por las siguientes citas, entre otras:

*Bertonio* (1879, [1612] tomo 1).<sup>11</sup>

« *Contar por piedrecitas*: Calana apanocatha, iranocatha, saraatha, vel inocatha. » (p. 139)

«*Piedra cuenta para contar lo que se deve: Cchaara. Para lo ñ se há pagado: Hanko. Contar con ellas: Iranocatha, Apanocatha.*» (p. 367)

*ibid.* (tomo 2):

«*Cchaara: Piedrecita de contar lo que se deve dela tassa, y otras cosas.*» (p. 72)

«*Inocatha: Contar con piedras. Calaro inocama.*» (p. 174)

«*Cala paachatha: Poner dos piedras enla cuenta, quando no ay mas de vna.*» (p. 240)

«*Phiscachatha: Poner cinco en la cuenta quando la hazen por piedrecitas.*» (p. 270)

*Joseph de Acosta* (1894 [1590], t. 2, págs. 167—168):

«— — —; pues verles otra suerte de quipos, que usan de granos de maíz, es cosa que encanta; porque una cuenta muy embarazosa, en que tendrá un muy buen contador que hacer por pluma y tinta, para ver á como les cabe entre tantos, tanto de contribucion, sacando tanto de allá, y añadiendo tanto de acá, con otras cien retartalillas, tomarán estos Indios sus granos, y pondrán uno aquí, tres allá, ocho no sé donde; pasarán un grano de aquí, trocarán tres de allá, y en efecto ellos salen con su cuenta hecha puntualísimamente sin errar un tilde; y mucho mejor se saben ellos poner en cuenta y razon de lo que cabe á cada uno de pagar ó dar, que sabremos nosotros dárselo por pluma y tinta averiguado. Si esto no es ingenio, y si estos hombres son bestias, júzguelo quien quisiere, que lo que yo juzgo de cierta es, que en aquello á que se aplican, nos hacen grandes ventajas.»

*Garcilasso de la Vega* (1609, Libro II, Cap. XXVI: «De la Geometrica, Geographia, Aritmetica, y Musica que alcançaron»):

«De la Geometrica supieron mucho, porque les fue necessario para medir sus tierras, para las ajustar y partir entre ellos: mas esto fue materialmente no por altura de grados, ni por otra cuenta especulatiua, sino por sus cordeles y piedrezitas, por las quales hazen sus cuentas y particiones, que por no atreuerme a darme a entender, dexare de dezir lo que supe dellas.» — — —

«De la Aritmetica supieron mucho, y por admirable manera, que por nudos dados en vnos hilos de diuersas colores dauan cuenta de todo lo que en el reyno del Inca auia de tributos, y contribuciones

por cargo y descargo, sumauan restauan, y multiplicauan por aquellos ñudos, y para saber lo que cabía a cada pueblo hazían las particiones con granos de Mayz, y piedrezuelas, demanera que les salía cierta su cuenta.»<sup>12</sup>

*Martin de Morua* (1922, t. IV, Cap. 25: «De los contadores que el Inga tenía y llamaban entre ellos quipucamayos.» Crónica del siglo XVI):

«También hacían sus cuentas por piedras y por ñudos, como está dicho; en cuerdas de colores, luengas, contaban uno, diez, ciento, un mil, diez cientos, diez mil, diez cientos de mil». — — — (pág. 177).

*Antonio de Herrera* (1728 [1601—15], Decada V, Libro IV, Cap. 1):

«Para tener cuenta, i raçon, vsaron los que llaman Quipos, i tenían vn Aposento colgado de ellos, que servían de Libros: estos son vnos Ramales de cuerdas, anudados con diversos nudos, i diversas colores, con los quales suplian quanto pueden decir Historias, Leies, Ceremonias, i Cuentas de negocios, con mucha puntualidad; i para tener estos Quipos havia Oficiales señalados, que oi día se llaman Quipo Camayo, los quales, como los Escrivanos eran obligados à dár cuenta de cada cosa, i se les daba entero credito, porque para Guerra, Tributos, Gobierno, i Cuentas, havia diversos Quipos; i asi como nosotros con veinte i tres letras sacamos tantos vocablos: asi los Indios, con sus nudos, i diferencia de colores, sacaban innumerables significaciones de cosas: — — —» (P. 83)

«— — —, ni sirven sino solamente para la memoria, porque el que las inventò, no lo hiço para significar palabras, sino para denotar aquella cosa; i asi nunca los Indios tuvieron Letras, sino Cifras, ò Memoriales, en la forma dicha. Por vnas Cuentas de Pedreçuelas aprenden quanto quieren tomar de memoria: por los Granos de Maiz suelen tambien hacer vn gran repartimiento de cuenta mui dificultosa, dando à cada vno la parte que le cabe; i de esta manera suelen tomar cuentas: i tales Contadores embiaban los Ingas, para tomarlas à los Cogedores de sus Tributos, tan bien como el maior Contador de guarismo. Sus escrituras, como no eran letras, sino dicciones, sin necesidad de travarse vnas con otras, las ponían de arriba abaxo; i de esta manera, con sus Figuras se entendían.» (P. 84)<sup>13</sup>

Juan de Velasco escribe bastante tarde (1789), pero se nota que tuvo acceso a libros más antiguos que después desaparecieron. En su *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional* (t. II, pág. 7), dice que los Caras que habitaban al Sur de Pasto tenían un cierto modo de escribir:

«Se reducía á ciertos archivos ó depósitos hechos de madera, de piedra ó de barro, con diversas separaciones en las cuales colocaban piedrecillas de distintos tamaños, colores y figuras angulares, porque eran excelentes lapidarios. Con las diversas combinaciones de ellas, perpetuaban sus hechos, y formaban sus cuentas de todo.»

Verneau y Rivet (1912, pág. 250) tienden a identificar los objetos descritos por Velasco con los tableros de juego hallados arqueológicamente en Perú y Ecuador. Como es sabido, varios de estos «contadores» de diferentes materiales (Verneau y Rivet, 1912, lámina XV) han sido explicados como modelos de fortalezas o algo parecido, pero Norden-skiöld (1918) pudo probar que se trataba de tableros para juego. De la misma opinión es Means (1931, pág. 328):

«My personal opinion is, however, that these objects were parts of the game of *chuncara* which is described by Cobo thus: «*Chuncara* was another game of five small hollows scooped out in some flat stone or in a board. They played it with beans of various colours, throwing the die, and, according to how it fell they moved their beans through their houses until the end was reached. The first house counted ten, the rest mounted up by tens until the fifth was reached, which was worth fifty.» I concede that this description does not fit perfectly with the arrangement of the objects under consideration; but they may have been unusually elaborate *chuncara*-boards. As a matter of fact, the «counter» theory may be correct, in which case these objects may well have been extremely useful for calculations, much as the abacus was to the people possessing it.»

También debo mencionar aquí la interesantísima relación de Horacio Urteaga «*Planos de piedra, contadores o ábacos, La Apaytalla*», en su colección de estudios «El Perú» (págs. 97—102) y siento no haberlo podido hacer en 1931 por no haber tenido acceso al libro. El doctor Urteaga menciona la discutida opinión de Monseñor González Suárez en el «*Atlas*

*Arqueológico Peruano*» (1892), de que los hallazgos arqueológicos del tipo arriba citado son planos de fortalezas, como también la opinión de Charles Wiener en «*Pérou et Bolivie*» (1880) de que se trata de contadores. Urteaga (pág. 100) traduce a Wiener:

«Los contadores estaban dispuesto en diferentes planos; en el plano inferior se marcaban espacios de diferentes tamaños. La contabilidad se hacía con granos o piedrecitas de diferentes colores. Una piedra o un grano marcaba una unidad en el campo pequeño y doblado su valor en un campo más grande; lo triplicaba en el campo central, y lo sextuplicaba en los espacios del segundo plano, teniendo dos veces más valor en el plano superior o en el tercero. El color de los granos o de las piedrecitas indicaba, o la tribu o la naturaleza del producto».

Sin embargo no se conoce de donde sacó Wiener su detallado conocimiento de evaluar las marcas. Después de estudiar a Martín de Morúa «*Origen de los Incas*», llega Urteaga al resultado de que se trata de un tablero para juego, con lo cual se coloca en el mismo plano que Wiener. Pero en vez de *chuncara* escribe Urteaga *paytalla*, según Morúa, a quien cita (pág. 101):

«Hay entre los indios un juego llamado por ellos *paytalla*; es un género de frijoles redondos de diversos géneros y nombres e hizo (;) en el suelo con la cabecera alta de donde sueltan los tales frijoles, y el que de ellos pasa adelante y hace ruido, más gana a los otros; está con sus rayas y arco a manera de surcos, y tiene sus nombres particulares el juego como son *apaitalla* y otros, así los *anquies* que son Infantes, dotados de los hijos de los Ingas, jugaban así a este juego como acto que es muy ordinario, estos indios llaman *lapisca* con su tabla y agujeros o señal donde iban pasando los tantos.»

### Interpretación del ábaco peruano

Independiente de lo dicho anteriormente, es muy probable que la descripción de Velasco sea la de un ábaco, aun cuando no es posible hacerse de ella una imagen del todo clara. En lo que se refiere a la figura en el manuscrito de Guaman Poma, está por demás decir que allí no se trata de un tablero para juego. Primero, no hay ningún parecido entre el dibujo en

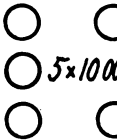
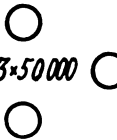
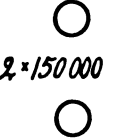

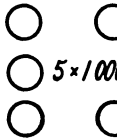
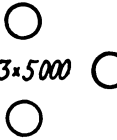
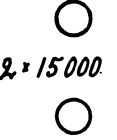

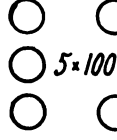
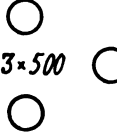
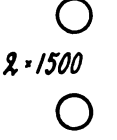
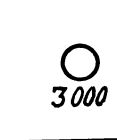
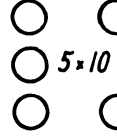
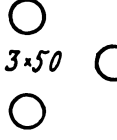
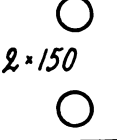
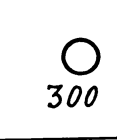
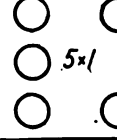
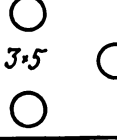
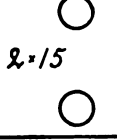
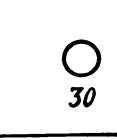
	A.	B.	C.	D.	
10000	 $5 \times 10\,000$	 $3 \times 50\,000$	 $2 \times 150\,000$	 $300\,000$	a.
1000	 $5 \times 1\,000$	 $3 \times 5\,000$	 $2 \times 15\,000$	 $30\,000$	b.
100	 $5 \times 100$	 $3 \times 500$	 $2 \times 1\,500$	 $3\,000$	c.
10	 $5 \times 10$	 $3 \times 50$	 $2 \times 150$	 $300$	d.
1	 $5 \times 1$	 $3 \times 5$	 $2 \times 15$	 $30$	e.
	1	5	15	30	

Fig. 6. Dibujo esquemático del ábaco de la figura 1. Explicación en el texto.

Guaman Poma y los tableros de juego reproducidos por Verneau y Rivet, y otros; después, este rectángulo está tanto en palabras como en el dibujo muy asociado con el texto del autor, de tal manera *que no cabe duda alguna que él se ha esforzado por describir un ábaco*. Esto no quiere decir que un tablero de juego en forma alguna no haya podido ser la causa de la invención de un ábaco de esta clase, aunque por



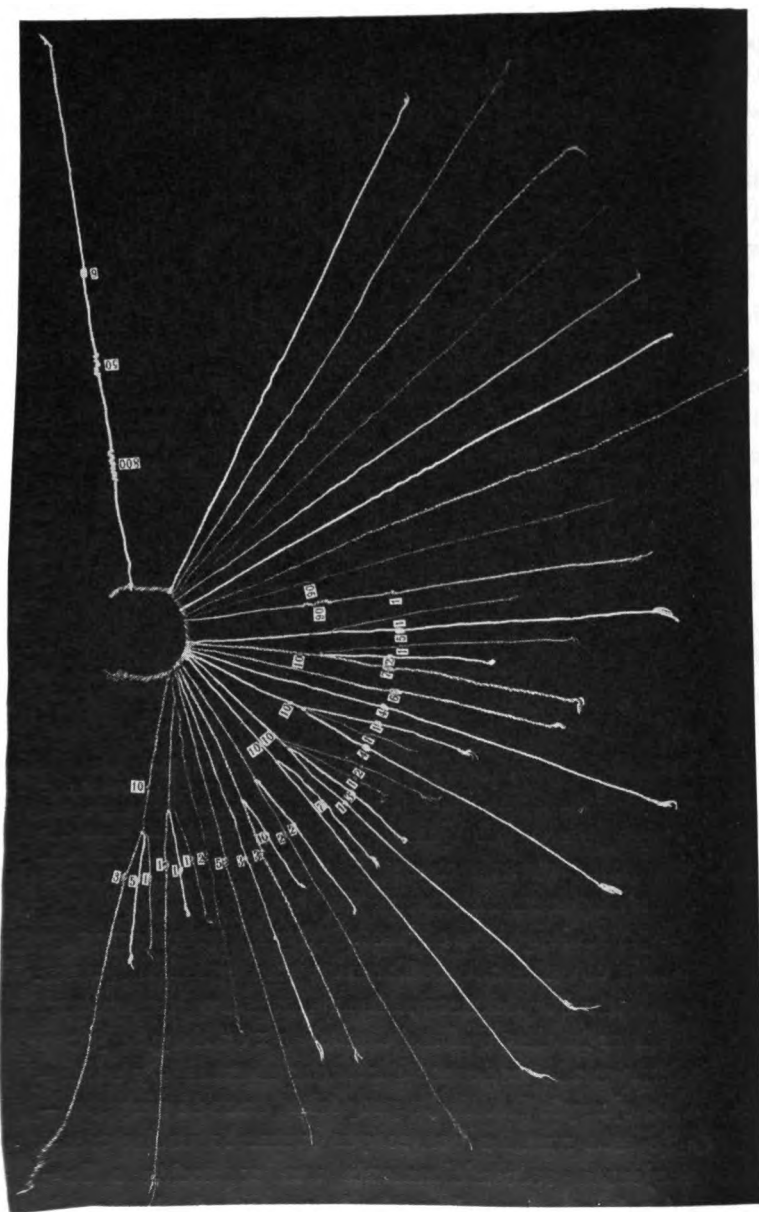


Fig. 8. *Quipu* de Nasca, Perú. 1/6. Col. Museo Etnográfico, Gotemburgo, 1924.6.120. Publicado como *quipu* 1 en Nordenskiöld 1925 a.



listo para ser anudado en el sistema decimal del quipu. Experimentando se puede formar una idea como las adiciones más complicadas pueden ser efectuadas rápida y efectivamente. Podemos estar seguros de que los tesoreros y quipucamayocs del antiguo Perú alcanzaban una gran agilidad, como se puede aún observar en China, Japón, Rusia y otros países, donde todavía se usan los ábacos en distintas formas.

Claro está que además de sumar, también las otras tres simples operaciones aritméticas pueden ser ejecutadas en un ábaco de esta clase. Para multiplicar, por ejemplo, se marca simplemente el más alto de los 2 factores en el tablero tantas veces como indica el multiplicador. Después se hace la suma y reducción del mismo modo que la adición. Para la división probablemente se usaba un método parecido aunque invertido. Sin embargo, es muy poco probable que el uso de las divisiones fuera muy propagado en el Perú antiguo. En lo que se refiere a una substracción, se puede efectuar muy fácilmente en uno de estos ábacos, en caso de no ser necesario tomar prestado de otros factores. Siendo así se tendrá que hacer primero una reducción hasta tener un grupo de unidades de las cuales se pueda tomar prestado.

Supongamos que el valor máximo de estos cuadrados en la línea vertical *A*, contando desde abajo es 5, 50, 500 etc. y moviendo a la derecha cuando los espacios estén completamente marcados, vemos que los agujeros en la línea vertical *D*, contando de abajo, obtienen el valor de 30, 300, 3.000 etc. La importancia de estos agujeros para las cuentas de días, meses y años, está a la vista.

De lo que se lleva dicho, se ve como se pueden llevar a cabo operaciones aritméticas empleando solamente las líneas *A* y *B*. ¿Cual es entonces la función que las líneas *C* y *D* desempeñan? Si no tuvieran función alguna, sería indicio en contra de la teoría sobre el uso del ábaco que vengo desarrollando. Pero tan pronto como se trata de sumas altas vemos que es difícil llevar a cabo estas opera-

ciones sin la ayuda de las líneas *C* y *D*, esto es, si queremos un método relativamente fácil.

Antes de continuar quiero añadir, que este estudio ha tenido ante todo el objeto de demostrar la utilidad de un ábaco con las cuentas quipus, pero es naturalmente muy difícil comprobar definitivamente sin datos exactos el sistema que vengo desarrollando. Que los valores de las marcas en la línea horizontal *a* son múltiplos de 10.000, sin embargo, lo encuentro confirmado por lo que dice Garcilasso de la Vega en sus *Comentarios Reales* (Libro VI, Cap. VIII «Contauan por hilos y ñudos auia gran fidelidad en los contadores») que muy pocas veces se contaba con mayores sumas:

«Los ñudos se dauan por su orden de vnidad, dezena, centena, millar, dezena de millar, y pocas vezes o nunca, passauan a la centena de millar: por que como cada pueblo tenia su cuenta de por si, y cada metropoli la de su distrito, nunca llegaua el numero destos, o de aquellos a tanta cantidad que passasse al cētena de millar, que en los numeros  $\tilde{q}$  ay de allí abaxo teniã harto. Mas si se ofreciera auer de contar por el numero centena de millar también lo contarán: por que en su lenguaje pueden dar todos los numeros del guarismo como el los tiene mas por  $\tilde{q}$  no auia para que vsar de los numeros mayores no passauã del dezena de millar.»<sup>14</sup>

Paso a examinar las razones por las que opino que el ábaco dibujado por Guaman Poma es de origen completamente indígena del Perú. Ante todo, examinemos brevemente los métodos que se usaban en el Viejo Mundo para calcular en ábacos.

La idea de usar piedras y un tablero para contar es de origen muy antiguo, y se encuentra extendida por varias partes del mundo. Los griegos tenían su *abax* y los romanos llamaban a su tablero *abacus*, palabra que tomé en la versión inglesa para evitar confusiones con las tablas de juego. Las piedrecitas con que eran marcadas estas cuentas se llamaban *calculi*.

*Suan-pan* (*swan-pan*) o los tableros chinos figuran bajo la misma categoría. Ya que se ha escrito mucho sobre la

existencia de los tableros en el Viejo Mundo y toda esta literatura está al alcance de los interesados, no es necesario disertar más sobre las diferentes opiniones que existen sobre el origen de estos tableros.<sup>15</sup> Tenemos, sin embargo, motivos para admitir que fué relativamente tarde que los chinos recibieron la idea para el *suan-pan* de las antiguas civilizaciones en las regiones del Eufrates y Tigris, por vía de la India. *Suan-pan* a su turno es la procedencia del *soroban* japonés.

Por lo tanto, las ideas sobre el país de origen del ábaco difieren mucho. Mientras que C. G. Knott (1885, pág. 19) dice: «It seems certain that its original home was India, whence it spread westward to Europe and eastward to China, assuming various forms, no doubt, but still remaining essentially the same instrument»; escribe el alemán Feldhaus (1931, págs. 143—144):

«Zu den sehr alten chinesischen Erfindungen gehört der Rechenapparat, der aus kleinen Stäben besteht, auf denen sich abgeplattete Kugeln verschieben lassen. Alle Stäbe sind durch eine Querliste in kürzere und längere Abschnitte geteilt. Auf dem kürzeren Stück gilt ein an den Querstab gerückter Knopf 5 Einheiten; auf dem längeren Stück gilt er 1 Einheit. — Von China gelangte dieses Rechenbrett im 16. Jahrhundert nach Russland, wo es heute noch zum Rechnen unentbehrlich ist. Nach Japan kam es aus China im 16. Jahrhundert. Der um die Theorie der Mechanik verdiente und als Erfinder einer Wasserturbine bekannte Franzose Poncelet lernte das russische Rechenbrett als Kriegsgefangener in den Jahren 1812/14 kennen, machte es in Frankreich bekannt und wurde so der Vater unserer aus Drähten und Kugeln bestehenden Rechenmaschine für Kinder.»

Lo que tienen de común los tableros arriba mencionados, es que están divididos en un número de espacios por medio de ranuras verticales en las que botones u objetos parecidos son movidos a guisa de marcas, o bien están divididos en espacios verticales por medio de bastoncitos en que corren esferas perforadas. Las esferas que estaban en la primera línea, marcaban las unidades, después continuaban

las decenas, etc. En tiempos antiguos consistía cada línea de 10 esferas. Poco a poco se simplificó este procedimiento, añadiendo una línea horizontal, representando así las bolas en la parte superior cantidades de 5 cada una. Para representar por ejemplo el número 99, no se necesita más que un 5 en la parte superior y cuatro marcas en la línea de las decenas, y un 5 y cuatro marcas en la línea de las unidades, mientras que antes hubiera sido necesario usar 9 esferas en cada una de estas líneas.

El conocimiento de los métodos empleados en Europa y sobre todo en España a fines del siglo XV y mediados del siglo XVI, es de gran importancia para decidir si el dibujo de Guaman Poma es de origen peruano o no. Guild (1882, pág. 9) escribe:

«The use of counters as a means of calculations was very general throughout Europe as late as the end of the 15th century. About that period they had ceased to be used in Spain and Italy, where the Arabic figures had been introduced and had come into general use, through the number of treatises on practical arithmetic which had been compiled. They were still used in France until a later period, and had not disappeared in England and Germany until the middle of the 17th century.»

Parece, por consiguiente, que tableros sencillos para cálculos hayan sido usados en España o por los españoles en el Perú a fines del siglo XVI, que fué cuando Guaman Poma escribió y dibujó su obra. Estos tableros no tienen, sin embargo, parecido alguno con el dibujo de Guaman Poma, de lo que se deduce que el autor describe un objeto de cultura puramente indígena.

Leland Locke confirma, refiriéndose al primer artículo, mi opinión de que la figura de Guaman Poma representa un objeto de la cultura peruana y escribe (1932, pág. 41):

«While not subscribing in full to Mr. Wassén's assignment of values to the columns, I take the liberty of reproducing his diagram. With five given to each dot in the second row it is possible to indicate fifteen in one of these squares, which is of some advantage in calculating. This is paralleled somewhat on the Chinese

*swan pan*, on which two beads are found in the five compartment, thus registering fifteen in the units' column, before a carry is performed. The *soroban* of the Japanese has but one bead in this compartment. There is a possibility of other assignments of values, as five in each of the columns C and D, or ten in D, as shown in the diagram. It may be that the artist inadvertently omitted a four column, and that each dot might carry the value of one. The dissimilarity of the arrangement from any known form of the European reckoning table would justify the conclusion that it is of Inca origin. »

Fijándonos en el dibujo de Guaman Poma, vemos que éste ha llenado varias de las marcas circulares en los cuadrados, por lo visto para enseñar como se usaban para contar, y admitamos con la mayor probabilidad que estas marcas en el dibujo fueron hechas *sin intentar marcar un número definido*.

Me parece interesante mencionar, como conclusión, que aún en nuestros días se puede observar el uso de granos de maíz, etc. para cuentas entre ciertos campesinos peruanos, según relata el director del Museo Arqueológico «Rafael Larco Herrera» en Trujillo, Sr. Rafael Larco Hoyle, en el segundo tomo de su obra «Los Mochicas». Nos presenta un viejo pastor de la hacienda Tulpo (Santiago de Chuco), «quien llevaba cuentas de grandes cantidades de ganado en el sistema de los quipus y en el maíz» (1939, fig. 178) y dice (págs. 118—119):

«... un curioso sistema que se emplea actualmente en la sierra por algunos campesinos, el mismo que se ha usado por los viejos pobladores de Paiján y otros pueblos indígenas del Valle de Chicama. Es éste: en la cosecha en los fundos de la sierra, los habitantes que no entienden de números pero que saben contar, llevan la estadística de su chacra y de sus ganados en pequeñas bolsas de diferentes colores a las que denominan «talegas». Cada bolsa corresponde a una de las chacras conocidas con su nombre. De acuerdo con el número de sacos que produce cada chacra, se pone en la talega el número correspondiente en ñuñas o maíz, de conformidad con el vegetal y la cantidad producida. También llevan las cuentas de su ganado en la misma forma, utilizando en cada clase los granos diferentes y señalando hasta el colorido. Las ovejas están representadas por los chochos, las vacas por las ñuñas, etc.

En la costa también se ha utilizado el mismo sistema para la

cuenta del ganado, empleando para el caso los frijoles y los pallares y de ahí que hasta hoy se llamen todavía «carneritos» a los frijoles y «vaquitas» a los pallares, por la asignación que tenían antes de la cuenta.»...

No hay que imaginar que un ábaco peruano tuviese que ser invariablemente de un material más o menos sólido como piedra, madera, etc. Es muy probable que a veces consistiese nada más que de la figura de un ábaco delineada rápidamente sobre la arena, o sobre un pedazo de tela, etc. y el resultado final anudado en el quipu.

## Notas

<sup>1</sup> Véase la bibliografía.

<sup>2</sup> Tal procedimiento de un crítico, de usar exactamente el mismo título que usó el autor anterior, ocasiona inútiles equivocaciones en las citas. Por ejemplo en la reseña de la edición francesa de Poma de Ayala en el «*American Anthropologist*», Vol. 39: 4, p. 683, 1937, escribe Wendell C. Bennett: «Montell has already utilized some of the leads on spinning and weaving technique as well as the costume information. L. Leland Locke has written an article *The Ancient Peruvian Abacus* commenting on the drawings of quipus and a calculating device».

<sup>3</sup> Tello (1939).

<sup>4</sup> *Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, XXIII, 1936. — Teniendo en cuenta las investigaciones actuales y futuras sobre el texto y material de ilustraciones en esta crónica india, es de lamentar que el editor, profesor Paul Rivet, no haya redactado una lista más minuciosa sobre las obras científicas que se basan en el manuscrito antes de ser publicado en facsímile. Compárese la lista complementaria en la reseña de la edición francesa por Georg Friederici en el *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, año 200, Núm. 1, págs. 38—45, Göttingen 1938. También hay que mencionar que el asistente del Museo Nacional de Copenhagen, Dr. Jens Yde, desde hace varios años se ocupa en una versión inglesa del manuscrito.

<sup>5</sup> Tello (1939) pág. 73.

<sup>6</sup> Bertonio (1879, t. 2, pág. 338): «*Tarukha*: Venado con cuernos, y pelo pardo».

<sup>7</sup> Compárese Nordenskiöld (1925 b, págs. 10—11 y citado), Locke (1923, pág. 36).

<sup>8</sup> Parece que este documento también fué aprovechado por Garcilasso de la Vega. Compárese el principio de la pág. 7 en *Una antigualla pe-*

ruana: «Dieron este cargo á personas de mucha curiosidad por interpretación de Pedro Escalante, indio ladino en lengua castellana, el cual servia á Vaca de Castro de interprete . . . » con el citado de Locke (1923, p. 42) de la traducción de *Los Comentarios Reales* por Markham: «There were in the employment persons of much inquisitiveness for the interpretation of Pedro Escalante who were well versed in the idiom of the Spanish language, they who served as interpreters for Vaca de Castro . . . » Este documento también fué editado por los doctores Urteaga y Romero, de Lima, en 1920, bajo el título de *Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas*.

\* Las letras cursivas son mías.

<sup>10</sup> Compárese los datos de los Cavinás en Nordenskiöld (1915, p. 547) y la traducción alemana (1924, págs. 268—269): «Sie sagen selbst, dass die Alten Aymará sprachen. Das erscheint ganz ungereimt, und doch kann es nicht geleugnet werden, dass die Cavina-Indianer aus der Aymarásprache Wörter entlehnt haben, dagegen nicht aus dem Quichua, z. B. mehrere von den Zahlwörtern. — — — Es ist daher doch möglich, dass die Aymarawörter in vorcolumbischer Zeit, als der Aymarastamm eine viel grössere Verbreitung und Bedeutung hatte als jetzt, in die Cavinásprache übernommen wurden.»

<sup>11</sup> Del *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara* de Bertonio escribe Markham (1902, p. 37): «Ludovico Bertonio, Jesuita italiano, que escribió una gramática y un voluminoso diccionario del idioma viciado que se hablaba en Juli, cerca de la orilla occidental del lago Titicaca, por una mezcla de muchas tribus reunidas allí y originarias de todas partes del Imperio Incaico. Llama «Aymara» á este idioma (1612).»

<sup>12</sup> Compárese Locke (1923, p. 39), traducción inglesa.

<sup>13</sup> Compárese Locke (1923, págs. 38—39), traducción francesa según Brasseur de Bourbourg.

<sup>14</sup> Compárese Locke (1923, pág. 40) traducción inglesa.

<sup>15</sup> Véase, por ejemplo, la descripción de varios tipos de ábacos en D. E. Smith (1928, págs. 156—196).

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## **The Noble Families or Maradika of Koelawi, Central Celebes**

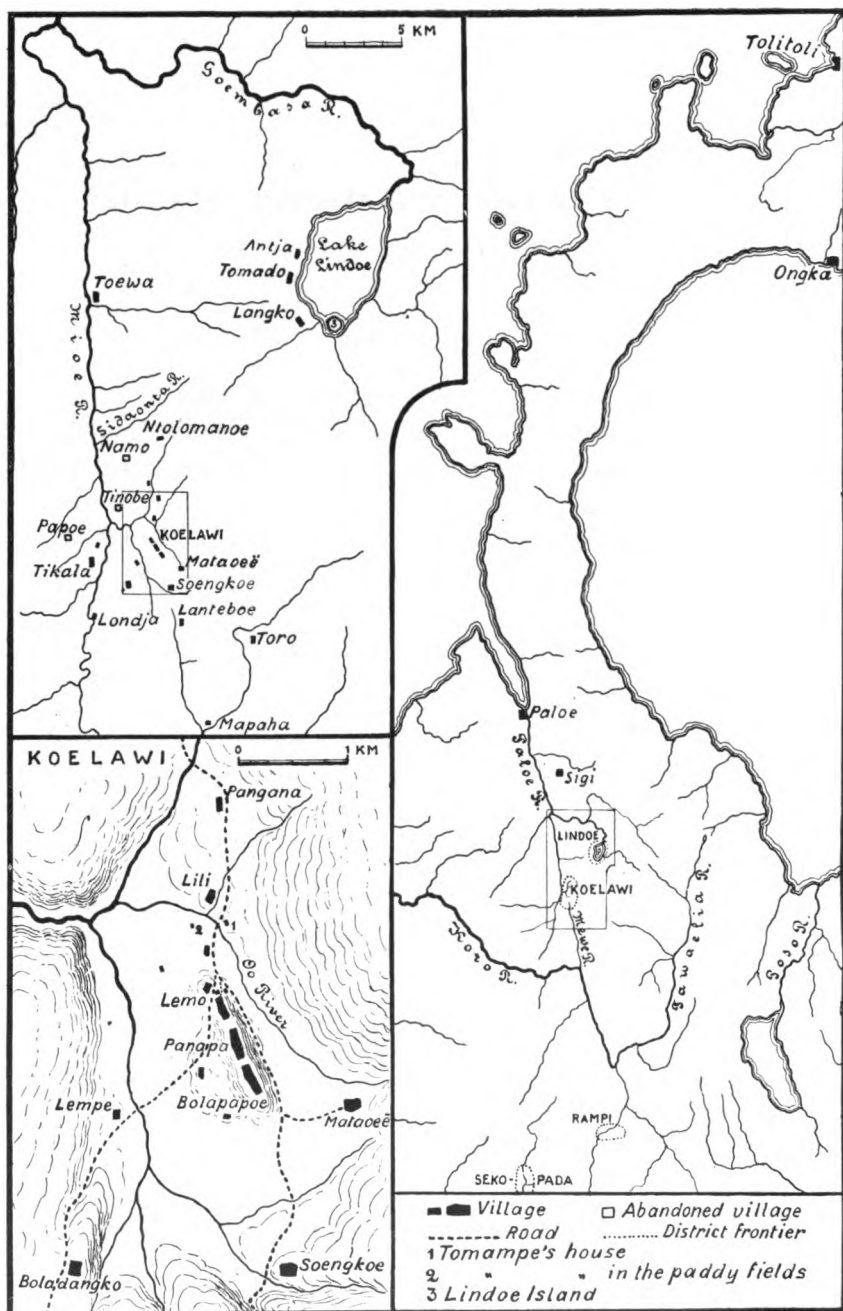
by

**Walter Kaudern**

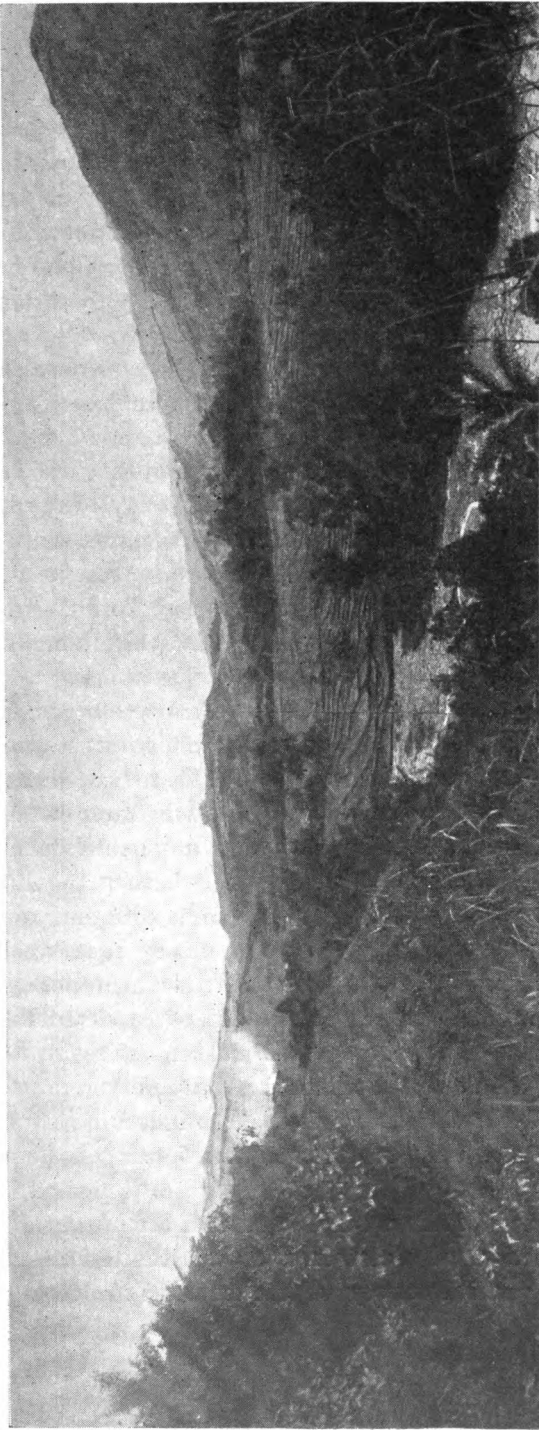
The Koelawi district in N. W. Central Celebes is a valley-basin surrounded by mountain ranges chiefly running N.N.W. and S.S.E. (Fig. 1 p. 33) It communicates in the north with the Paloe Valley, in the south with the valleys of the Mewe and the Koro (Map p. 32). The inhabitants, the To Koelawi (To means man, men, people) have cultivated the plain and grow chiefly paddy. In 1918, during which year I stayed for about ten months in Koelawi, it had a population of more than two thousand persons.

The To Koelawi like other Toradja tribes do not represent a homogeneous race, but the admixture of foreign blood seems to be rather of old date. Of quite recent date, i. e. after 1900, only a few cases of mixed breed are known. In one of these the father was a Sangi man, in another a Minahassa man, in a third case he was an American. Here and there I met with native children whose father was said to be a man from New Zealand. Judging by the looks of the children the man is likely to have been a bastard of European and Maori stock. Occasionally I noticed a native with purely Semitic features, but no admixture of Arabian or Semitic blood is known by the natives themselves.

Like all Toradja tribes the To Koelawi are rather small of stature, but they are strong and have a fine figure. The colour of the skin is brown, the hair as a rule black, coarse



Map of Koelavi and adjacent districts



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 1. — Koelawi Plain seen from the hills beyond the village of Soengkoe. The dark, woody ridge seen in the plain is Botapapoe Hill.

and straggling, occasionally it is slightly wavy. A head with curly hair is rare, and a woolly one I never saw.

Among the To Koelawi as well as among most Toradja tribes two types are met with, the majority of the natives having rather dark brown skin, a round and broad face and a short broad nose, whereas the other less numerous type has a comparatively oval face, the nose being rather long and narrow, straight or slightly curved. Besides there are some individuals who seem to be representatives of still another race since they possess very dark brown skin and very wavy hair. It is possible that these should be ranged with the veddoid peoples and that the majority of the population are Primitive Malays and Old Malays intermingled with each other and perhaps with other races as well. However, as long as no anthropological study has been made either of the To Koelawi, or of any other Toradja tribe, all attempts at classifying the types noticeable among the natives are nothing but conjectures and guesswork.

The natives themselves do not know anything for certain about their origin, or the time when their ancestors settled in Koelawi, or whence they came. There are legends referring to these questions, but they are often inconsistent and it seems impossible to draw any important conclusions from them. We do not even know whether the different racial types immigrated separately from different quarters, or whether the immigrants were a mixed race when they arrived in Central Celebes. Only a strict anthropological investigation of all Toradja tribes could be expected to throw light on this matter. For certain reasons it seems to be a possibility that the different classes of society represent different racial elements, or waves of immigrants, but, as I said above, it is only conjectures and nothing is known for certain.

In order to acquire a reliable ground for an anthropological examination of a certain class in a limited area I tried to make a general survey of the persons in Koelawi who

belonged to the uppermost class of the country, that is the noble families, or *maradika*.

Like the majority of the Toradja tribes the To Koelawi are divided into three classes: the *maradika*, the *todea*, who are free, unprivileged landowners, and the *batoea*, the slaves who are now called *perentah*, servants, since slavery has been abolished by the Dutch.

It seems uncertain that there was a native royal family in Koelawi in olden times. There are, however, legends about such a family, but at the time of the conquering by the Dutch in the beginning of our century the inhabitants of Koelawi paid tribute to the rich and powerful prince of Sigi in the Paloe Valley. Under Dutch rule Koelawi was given a governor who was a man of their own country with the title of *magaoe*. He is, however, more a Dutch official than a native prince. As far as I understood, the office of *magaoe* did not pass on from a father to his son. A new *magaoe* was appointed by the Dutch Government but actually chosen by the natives who chose the person among them whom they wanted to have for their head, and then the Dutch confirmed their choice. Necessarily a *magaoe* must be a man of the *maradika* class. How the *maradika* had become a superior class in society the natives could not explain. They said the *maradika* were such from ancient times by birth. If this institution was original in Koelawi, or if it had been introduced from abroad they did not know. There are certain legends about the *maradika*, but they do not seem to be of much use to science. The *maradika* may belong to a foreign people who immigrated into Central Celebes after the Toradja had settled there, but if this is the case we could expect the *maradika* of all Toradja tribes to have some anthropological characteristics in common, differentiating them from the rest of the population, and as long as no anthropological research has been made the matter cannot be cleared up. The *maradika* class may just as well be a foreign



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 2. — A married maradika lady wearing the typical head-band of Koelawi, tali potaja.

cultural element which from the coast has penetrated into the interior of the island.

The maradika are to a certain degree isolated from their fellow countrymen, since a maradika is not as a rule allowed to marry a person not of noble birth. It happened, however, that a maradika man took a slave girl for his second or third wife, in which case the woman became his equal and her children by him were maradika. A maradika girl marrying a man not of noble birth I never heard of. Thus the maradika are representatives of a rather pure type, and as a matter of fact it was not difficult to tell by the looks and manners of a person if he, or she, was a maradika (Figs. 2 and 3, p. 37).

In Koelawi the maradika have no special mark indicating their being of noble birth, or their being members of





W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 3. — A married maradika lady of Koelawi wearing a head-band of a pattern from the districts southeast of Koelawi.

a certain family. They do not have a family name, nor any coat of arms, but only a maradika is allowed to wear golden ornaments. The broad-brimmed hat of a maradika woman is adorned all along its edge with red tape and small tassels of cloth (Fig. 4, p. 38). Todea women who were well off decorated the edge of their hat-brims with red tape only, which was not considered proper for women of humbler means.

How many maradika families there were in Koelawi I could not find out. The opinions on this matter seemed to vary with the natives. I was told by a man that there were actually only three such families, but which these were was not clear. Possibly the families now living are branches from a few original maradika families. Presumably a couple of maradika families who call themselves To Koe-

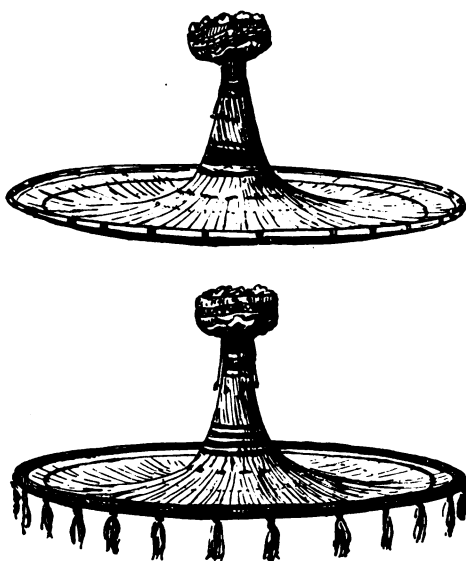


Fig. 4. — Koelawian womens' hats, toroe. The top one for persons not of noble birth, the lower one for maradika women.

lawi have immigrated to Koelawi rather lately. Judging by the statements made by some natives it does not seem impossible that a few maradika families have risen to their position by their wealth, or by success in war.

It was, however, impossible to get authentic information from the natives on their descent, since mostly they did not know their family more than two, perhaps three generations back. Besides, the maradika families have intermarried so often that, in the beginning, I felt inclined to believe there was but a single big maradika family in Koelawi.

It was not an easy task to make a genealogical study in Koelawi even of the present generation. When I asked a person, "what is your name," he would not tell himself, but he would ask somebody else to answer for him. A native often shrank from mentioning the names of his near rela-

tives for fear of demons. For the same reason a person would occasionally alter his name, for instance after recovering from an illness. Besides, such expressions as "my child, my brother, my sister," were not sure to mean the same as with us. When a native says, "this is my child," you cannot take it for granted that the child is his own. It may be a brother's, a sister's, or a foster-child. It was rather difficult to make the natives understand that I was particular on this point. Another difficulty was that a man and his wife, when their first child was born, dropped their own names and were called the father and the mother of their child. Father is in the Koelawian language *tomai*, mother, *tina*. If, for instance, a man is called *Tomai Lingkoe*, a woman, *Tina Lingkoe*, this means the father of *Lingkoe* and the mother of *Lingkoe*. The two words *tomai* and *tina* are slightly varied, possibly influenced by the following name, or merely for the sake of convenience. In Koelawi I noticed the following forms:

Tomai Noeroe	Tina Gana
Tome Latoinda	Tin Tagoeni
Taimen Toila	Tinem Kaloeara
Taim Panggata	Tinen Tjeko
Tai Povintoe	Tine Odjoe
Tain Toroë	

Even if the first born child is dead and there are younger children in the family the parents keep the name of their oldest child. A high *maradika* in Koelawi for instance, was called *Tomai Lingkoe* although his son *Lingkoe* had died as a baby so long ago that I could not find out when it happened, and he had many more children after *Lingkoe*. There were seven children in his family at the time of my sojourn in Koelawi.

Occasionally a married man would go back to his original name, and before I knew this I made a mistake in my

record of the Koelawian nobility. A native friend of mine was the maradika Tomai Noeroe. I knew all his family and had entered them in my record. In this I also had a man called Sigi Paloe, who had married a woman of the same lineage as Tomai Noeroe's wife, but these data I did not get from the persons themselves but from somebody else, and I did not know Sigi Paloe and his wife.

One day when my wife and I sat on the missionary's veranda, Tomai Noeroe passed by. I was astonished to hear the missionary call him Sigi Paloe. It was my friend Tomai Noeroe after all! How was that? The missionary explained. Before Tomai Noeroe married he was Sigi Paloe, and when his first child, Noeroe, was born he became Tomai Noeroe, but lately the man had taken a second wife and to her he was Sigi Paloe.

The natives of Koelawi had a very vague idea of their age. Quite young children were said to be so or so many paddy harvests old, which was the same as years since paddy was harvested only once a year, but beyond seven, eight, or perhaps nine years they did not seem to trouble about the age of a child. Most natives had no idea whether they were twenty-five, thirty-five, or forty-five years of age. To get an idea of the age of a person I had to connect it with certain events the date of which was known. Such were the arrival of the missionary in Koelawi, in 1913, the conquering by the Dutch, in 1906, the visit of the SARASINS, in 1902. The natives would tell me if they were children, youngsters, married, etc. at the occasion of these events, and in this way I managed to get a fairly good idea of their age. Statements about a native's age, however, I have not entered in my record unless they are certain to be correct.

In my record I have begun with the families which were said to have lived in Koelawi for a long time. Then the families follow which have settled in the country in later times. I have named the families after the head of each in

1918, and the names of the families are given in alphabetical order.

The first nine families on my list were generally held to be real Koelawian, and the three at the end, Nos. XV, XVI, and XVII, were stated to have settled in Koelawi rather lately. There are several families about which I am doubtful. It seems, however, very likely that the family No. XIII is not a real Koelawian family but should be included with the families which have moved from Lindoe to Koelawi. The family No. XIV should be omitted, I think, since in all probability all its members have left Koelawi and do not seem to intend to return. There is a possibility, however, that Lagimpoe (Tai Rentja) and his wife Towoti still lived in Koelawi while the rest of the members of their family had moved to Onka and Toli Toli in North Celebes and to Toro southeast of Koelawi. With the latter district the Koelawian maradika families are more closely connected than with any other district, perhaps with the exception of Lindoe.

The man Lempa of Family I is married and lives in Toro. The same is the case with Tomai Horaë of Family IX, but it seems uncertain that he has left Koelawi and moved to Toro. It is more likely that he has remained in Toro and that all other members of this family have moved to Koelawi. The first ancestor of the family, Tomai Kaodjoe, is almost certain to be the same person as Tomai Odjoe of Family II, and this man was from Toro.

Besides the families that had moved from Lindoe to Koelawi, Tomekorandi (Tomai Palaha) of Family IV was said to have come from Lindoe. It is quite likely that several more maradika had moved from adjacent districts to Koelawi for there are some wives, the origin of whom I could not ascertain. Some of these may not be of noble birth, but others may belong to maradika families of neighbouring districts. Several women may have been slaves before they married. Judging by my list wives of this quality are

scarce, but in this respect my lists are a little deceptive, I think. As a rule the origin in such cases was not revealed to me. To this question I shall come back later on.

If it cannot be proved that some maradika wives the origin of whom is unknown to me, belong to maradika families of foreign districts, it seems very likely that most of the men who have married into genuine Koelawian families are maradika themselves, such as Tomai Tobana and Tomai Hoeboe of Family I, Tawana of Family III, nTadjoeli of Family IV, nKarihi of Family V, Pendanga, Tai Kalamboe, Tomai Hongkododa, and Tomai Palinge of Family VIII, since I was told that a maradika girl would not marry a man who was not of noble birth.

Since the majority of the maradika men marry girls of noble families, all these families in Koelawi are closely related to one another. The following table shows how the families have intermarried. Roman figures indicate the families and Arabic figures the families into which they have married and the number of intermarriages.

Family	Intermarried into the families:	Number of Intermarriages:
I	8, 9, 11, 16 .....	4
II	4, 7, 8, 9 .....	4
III	3, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 16, 16, 16	15
IV	2, 3, 9, 11, 17 .....	5
V	3, 6, 7, 12, 16 .....	5
VI	5 .....	1
VII	2, 3, 3, 5, 8, 15 .....	6
VIII	1, 2, (3), 3, 7, 12, 15, 15, 16, 16 .....	10
IX	2, 4 .....	2
X	1 .....	1
XI	1, 3, 4 .....	3
XII	3, 5, 9 .....	3
XIII	16 .....	1
XIV	15 .....	1
XV	3, 7, 8, 8, 14, 17 .....	6
XVI	1, 3, 3, 3, 3, 5, 8, 8, 13 .....	9
XVII	4, 15 .....	2

4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	families have intermarriages.
1	2	3	4	5	6	9	10	15	

From the table we learn that there are four families in which but a single intermarriage is known to me. There occur two cases each of two, three, four, five, and six intermarriages. Numerous intermarriages are met with in three families, Nos. III, VIII, and XVI, which have fifteen, ten, and nine intermarriages respectively.

Noteworthy is how Family XVI from I,indoe has managed to be allied with nearly all the old Koelawian noble families. Rarely has there been a marriage into a family of lesser importance. Marriages with persons not of noble birth have been altogether avoided.

How it is in this respect in the other families I have in many cases not been able to ascertain. As mentioned before there are on my record several wives of origin unknown to me. In some cases the persons in question had died so long ago that nobody remembered who their parents were, who may have been maradika. Others again may have been of maradika families of neighbouring districts. Tjoemoea (Tina Tempo) and nPatoboe (Tina Moesa) were stated not to be maradika, the latter to have been a slave. It seems quite likely that rather many of the girls who had married into maradika families were not of noble birth, because it was not necessary for a man to marry a girl of his own class. When the natives did not supply any particulars about a maradika's wife there is reason to think she was of humble birth. If a wife was of noble family my informants would not fail to call my attention to this fact. When a maradika had more than one wife and only one is stated to be his equal in birth, we can take it for granted that the second wife is of humbler class.

On the following list I have entered all married men and women of origin unknown to me, as well as those who were stated not to be maradika.

*Men*

- I. Tomai Tobana  
Tomai Hoeboe  
Tomai Tohoera  
Tomai Tawongoe
- II. Tomai Odjoe (from Toro)
- III. Tawana
- IV. nTadjoeli
- V. ngKarihi  
Tomai Poto †
- VI. Tomai Poraha  
Tomai Potaha
- VII.

*Women*

- I. Tjaheboenga (Tina Lihi-dondo) †  
Sambite (Tina Tohama),  
wife No. 2 of Tomai Dado.
- II. Tina Bandoe
- III. mPeroeë †  
Name un- } co-wives of  
known to } mBosola-  
me † } boe's
- Mole (Tina)  
Lingkoe) † }  
mPaigoe (Ti- } co-wives of  
na Lohei) † } Tomai  
mPatoboe } Lingkoe's  
(Tina Moe-  
sa), a slave
- Koeti, married Mahali  
after 1918
- Toradioe (Tina Wenta),  
wife No. 1 of Tomai Wenta
- Himbai, married Dolo in  
1918.
- Pondito (Tina Lamboe)  
Salama (Tina Tiroa)
- IV. Tobingka (Ti-  
na Pangata } co-wives of  
mPoreka (Ti- } TaimPang-  
na Tongke) } ata's  
Ronaë (Tina  
Togië)
- V. Tina Ladjoema †  
Tina Bidja  
Moni  
Tina Nabi †
- VI. Toraindoe (Tina Lama-  
niri)
- VII. nTowongi (Tinem  
Paoe) †  
Tinen Rengke



<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
VIII. Pendenga Tai Kalamboe † Tomai Hongkododa † Tomai Palinge †	VIII. Tina Tohimo † Tin Toila Bitoeë (Tina Noengkoe) Tina Lolage † Tina Tandoele † Tina Paholi
IX.	IX. Tin Tawelana
X. Potontja (Tai Rahidi) Tomai Gana Tai Dahi	X. Tomone (Tina Kamboe)
XI.	XI. Tohoi (Tina Komo) Tjoemoea (Tina Tempa or Tina Sameia) not a maradika.
XII.	XII. ngSandele † Baëo (Tina Koelande) Talame (Tina Potoloe)
XIII.	XIII. Tina Jaho Ampidjala (Tina Oloe)
XIV.	XIV. Towoti (Tina Rentja)
XV.	XV. Topompe (Tina Hin- } co-wives of tooe) } Tomai Ponito (Tina } Sinto's Kahamia)† } Toeribo
XVI.	XVI.
XVII.	XVII.

### Remarriage and Polygamy

In Koelawi a widower could very well marry again, and my lists have several examples of this, but I do not know of a single widow who did so. I did not hear that remarriage was forbidden for a widow, but as a matter of fact nobody could point out such a case to me.

There was no polyandry among the To Koelawi, but occasionally a maradika man had more than one wife. Of the men on my register only nine had more than one wife in 1918. As a rule a man did not have more than two wives

at a time, but there are exceptions to this. Two of the men on my list have four wives each. One of them, Tomai Lingkoe, had, however, in 1918 only two wives, the other two were dead, and I think he never had more than two at a time.

The natives told me that if a man had more than one wife, his women did not live in the same village; but there were exceptions. Tomai Lingkoe's two wives, Tina Haninga and Tina Moesa, both lived in his house, presumably because the former was old and ailing and had to leave the housekeeping to the younger woman. Also Tomai Noereo's two wives, who were half-cousins, lived at least when the Spanish influenza ravaged in Koelawi in 1918 in their husband's house with all their children.

On the following list I have entered all men who have married more than once. Roman figures refer to the numbers of the families.

- I. Rampeoea (Tomai Dado), married
  - (1) Toroelontja †
  - (2) Sambite
- III. mBosolaboe, or nTodjanek †, married
  - (1) mPeroë
  - (2) name unknown to me.
- Makoeasa (Tomai Lingkoe), married
  - (1) Mole (Tina Lingkoe) †
  - (2) Kalamboe (Tina Haninga)
  - (3) mPaigoe (Tina Lohei) †
  - (4) nPatoboe (Tina Moesa).
- Mantoeli (Tomai Went), married
  - (1) Toradioe (Tina Went)
  - (2) Podei (Tina Boelawa).
- Tomehapata, or Tomai Hapata, married
  - (1) Name unknown to me. She lived at Lemo.
  - (2) Name unknown to me. She lived at Boladangko.
- IV. Tanibia (Tai mPangata), married
  - (1) Tobingka (Tina Pangata)
  - (2) mPorake (Tina Tongke)
  - (3) Ronai (Tina Tandoe).

- XV. Lahore (Tomai Sinto, or Hintooe), married  
 (1) Topompe (Tina Hintooe)  
 (2) Ponito (Tina Kahania).
- XVI. Palangkodjaro, or Djaro (Tai Tagoeni), married  
 (1) Haninga (Tina Maëa)  
 (2) Winoë (Tin Tagoeni).
- Sigi Paloe (Tomai Noeroe), married  
 (1) nKamomi (Tina Noeroe)  
 (2) Lohei (Tina Magoerisi).

*The number of monogamous and polygamous men in each family is given in the table below*

Family	Monogamous men	Polygamous men	Family	Monogamous men	Polygamous men
I.....	5	1	X.....	3	—
II.....	3	—	XI.....	3	—
III.....	9	4	XII.....	6	—
IV.....	2	1	XIII.....	3	—
IIV.....	6	—	XIV.....	2	—
VI.....	2	—	XV.....	4	1
VII.....	4	—	XVI.....	3	2
VIII.....	10	—	XVII.....	1	—
IX.....	4	—			

### Age of People when Marrying

Marriage between children is not known to occur in Koe-lawi. People do not seem to marry very young, the men mostly seemed to be about twenty years old, occasionally perhaps a little more than twenty. Of those about whose age I am rather certain, Tohama, who in all probability was born in 1900, married in 1919, and Mahali, born in 1912, married in 1920, or 1921 according to the missionary in Koe-lawi at that time. Thus both young men were about nineteen when they married. Kapoei, who in 1918 must have been twenty-five, was still a bachelor.

Girls seem to marry when they are nearing twenty or are a little over twenty. Toemoedoe, who was probably born in 1898 had not married in 1918.

## Nativity

My record does not supply reliable statistics of the children born in any given marriage. Of earlier generations the natives were unable to provide reliable information. Besides, they did not think it worth while to mention children who died as babies.

*The number of respective children of seventy-nine mothers is seen in the following table.*

Mothers .....	12	20	15	14	7	6	3	1	1
Children .....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Mothers with one or two children are likely not to have been long married. Three or four children seem to be the ordinary number for a mother. Five or six children are not unusual.

Childless marriages seem to be scarce. My informants knew but a single couple who had been married for a considerable time without having a child, the man nTjoboe and his wife Kombadja.

Only in one case did I hear of twins being born. Their father was Toneke, their mother Moni. They were born in 1918.

Among the maradika there seem to be no elderly bachelors or spinsters. Everybody married as far as I am aware.

## Names

In Koelawi names for children were chosen along other lines than those followed in Europe where a child often is named after a relative. A name for a child should not be the same as that of another person. Parents must find a new name for their baby and their ingenuity in this respect was remarkable. I am inclined to think that all names had a meaning but my knowledge of the Koelawian lan-

guage is not sufficient to give the translation of them all. Boelawa, for instance, means gold, Toila, lime, Makoeasa, powerful man, Taipa, a kind of mango, etc. Some names are Malay words. Such are Masi, gold, Mahali, precious, Tikoe, mouse, etc. Others are Portuguese, for instance Horlodji, watch, Sapata, shoe, Medja, table, Kadera, chair. Of Arabian origin is the name Salama.

The names on the list of Koelawian *maradika*, p. 118, are all different with two exceptions only. In Family VIII there is a man called Tagoeni and in Family XVI another man named nTagoeni, and in Family III a woman called Todoela and in Family VI a girl of the name of nTodoela.

During the first year of his life a baby had no real name, because all parents were afraid that evil spirits could discover their child and hurt it in some way. They called their baby by pet names such as "Little banana, Little coconut" etc. If a child which had got a name was taken seriously ill, the parents often gave it another name to deceive the demons.

# I

## The Tomai Dado Family

This family I have named after Tomai Dado who was one of the most prominent maradika of Koelawi. Of earlier members of this family I have only been able to get the names of Tomai Dado's parents, his uncle and aunts, all of whom had died before 1918.<sup>1</sup>

1. s. TOBELE (TOMAI LIHIDONDO) †

m. TJAHEBOENGA (TINA LIHIDONDO) †

Children:

1 ? Lihidondo †, sex unknown to me.

2 s. Rampeoewa (Tomai Dado)

m. 1. Torolontja, or Toerolontja (Tina Dado) †,  
of Family XVI.

m. 2. Sambite (Tina Tohama), whose family is  
unknown to me.

Tomai Dado was an important man in Koelawi already before the Dutch conquered the country judging by the part he played when the cousins SARASIN in 1902 passed through Koelawi on their way from Paloe to Palopo.

When Koelawi in 1905 was brought under Dutch rule Tomai Dado was appointed chief of the district, that is to say he was given the position next to the Magaoe, the ruler of the country. In 1915 he seized the opportunity when the Magaoe as well as the Dutch missionary were absent and had the front-teeth of some half-grown girls

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<sup>1</sup> In the tables s. means son, d., daughter, m., married.

knocked out, among whom was his own daughter Moelia. This was an ancient custom of the country but forbidden by the Dutch. Tomai Dado was dismissed from his post and kept in prison for some months. When he returned to Koelawi after six months, the great feast was arranged which the natives used to have at the time when the girls who had had their teeth knocked out, had recovered from this painful operation.

Children by the first marriage:

- 1 s. D a d o who died when a baby.
- 2 d. T o e m o e d o e, presumably born in 1898 (Plate I).
- 3 s. L a m a h a t o e, or T o h a t o e, married on Nov. 15th 1918 Kamana of Family VIII.

Children by the second marriage:

- 1 s. T o h a m a, christened Marcus, presumably born in 1900, was Magaoe Tomampe's clerk (Plate II). He married in 1919, after I had left Koelawi, a m a r a d i k a girl whose name I do not know (Fig. 5 p. 52).
- 2 d. M o e l i a, christened Martha, presumably born in 1905. She was one of the two first girls who went through the Salvation Army School in Koelawi (Figs. 6, 7, pp. 53, 56).
- 3 d. T i n T o b a n a †, wife of Tomai Tobana whose family is unknown to me.

Children:

- 1 d. T o b a n a
- 2 s. L e m b e g a
- 3 s. G e m p o
- 4 s. L e m p a, married and living in Toro.



O. STRANGLUND Photo 1919

Fig. 5. — Koelawian bridal couple. The bridegroom is Tohama.

- 4 d. **Tinen Hoenggoe** who married **Tomai Hoeboe** †, whose family is unknown to me. How it is that she is called Tinen Hoenggoe when there is no child Hoenggoe is a thing I cannot explain, unless Tinen Hoenggoe was Tomai Hoeboe's second wife and her child by him, Hoenggoe, was dead and therefore not mentioned by my informants.

Children:

- 1 d. Tohoeboe?
- 2 s. Tohabo?





W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 6. — Moelia in festal attire. Her head dress is called hongko boelawa.

2. s. TJABADARA (TOMAI TOEROROE) †  
 m. TINA TOEROROE †, whose family is unknown to me.

Child:

Toeroroe, whether a son or a daughter is unknown to me.

3. d. TOBANDEOGE (TINA TJAWELANGI) †? who married  
 NTOËKE (TOMAI TJAWELANGI) of Fam. X.  
 4. d. POHENKO, or POSENGKO (TINA TORA), who married  
 Potondoe (Tai Tora) of Fam. XI.

5. d. TOKIA (TINA TOHOERA) who married TOMAI TOHOERA, whose family is unknown to me.

Child:

Tohoera, whether a son or a daughter is unknown to me.

6. d. TOËNDI (TINA TAWONGOE) who married TOMAI TAWONGOE whose family is unknown to me.

Child:

- d. Tawongoe, in all probability the same person as Tawongi (Tina Limbagoe) who married Jaho (Tomai Limbagoe) of Fam. XIII.

## II

### The Tomai nKaloeara Family

To this family I have given the name of its head in 1918, Tomai nKaloeara.

TOMAI BANDOË †

- m. TINA BANDOË †, whose family is unknown to me.

Children:

- 1 ? Bandoë †, sex unknown to me.  
2 s. Impagoeroe, or mPagoeroe (Tomai nKaloeara)  
m. Palinge (Tinen Kaloeara) of Fam. VIII.

Child:

- s. nKaloeara  
m. mPodoenoe or Podjoenoe of Fam. VII.

## Children:

- 1) d. *Tjoti* who married *mPangata*, or *mPengata* of Fam. IV.
  - 2) s. *nTaralati*
  - 3) s. *Moengiri*
  - 4) d. *nTipa*
- 3 d. **Tine Odjoe**, or **Tina Kaodjoe(?)** who married **Tomai Odjoe**, or **Kaodjoe** from **Toro**, of Fam. IX.

## III

**The Tomai Lingkoe Family**

The head of this family was in 1918 Tomai Lingkoe, Koe-lawi's last commander in war.

N'TONDARI, or N'TONDORI was the oldest member of the family known to its now living members. He died long ago and was presumably born at the end of the eighteenth century or in the beginning of the nineteenth. His wife was not known to the family. His two sons were:

## Children:

- 1 s. **mBosolaboe** (or **nTodjanek?**) †
  - m. 1. **mPeroë** † whose family is unknown to me.
  - m. 2. The name and family of this wife are unknown to me.

## Children by the first marriage:

- 1 s. **Makoeasa**, (**Tomai Lingkoe**)  
(Fig. 8, p. 58)
  - m. 1. **Mole** (**Tina Lingkoe**) † in  
Rampi. Her family unknown to me.



Fig. 7. — Young Koelawian maradika people in festal attire.  
 next to her Benaia, Mahali's sister. The third girl  
 behind those in the front row is a tea



O. STRANLUND Photo

man to the right is Mahali, the girl next to him is Moelia and ability is Mahali's younger sister, Magdalena. The young man gaoe. As far as I know he is not a maradika.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 8. — Tomai Lingkoe.

- m. 2. Kalamboe (Tina Haninga)  
of Fam. VIII.
- m. 3. mPaigoe (Tina Lohei) †.  
Her family unknown to me.
- m. 4. nPatoboe (Tina Moesa),  
a slave. This marriage was not at  
all approved by the family (Fig.  
8 p. 59)

Tomai Lingkoe in all probability was born at the end of the fifties. When he was young he had for some reason lived for some time in the district of Rampi south of Bada and at that time he married a girl



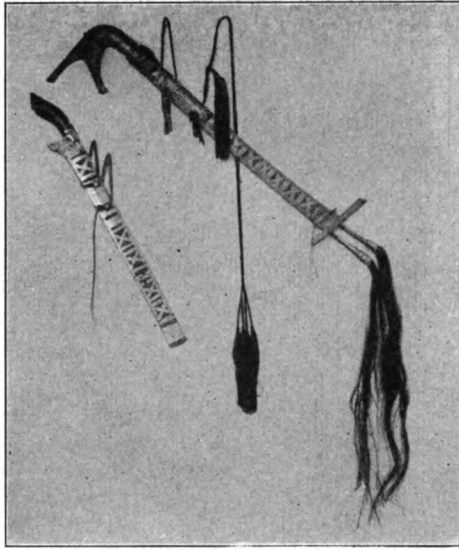
W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 9. — Tina Moesa, Tomai Lingkoes's wife number four.

called Mole. Before the Dutch became masters of Koelawi, he was its leader in war and his title as such was *topoparesa topowali*.

When we met him in 1918 he seemed to be very old and he was unable to walk because the muscles of his legs were degenerated. To improve his health he used to arrange once a year what the natives called a *balia*, a religious performance.

Some days before the *balia* was to take place half a dozen drums hanging in a shed without walls near the *maradika's* house on Bola Papoe Hill were vigorously beaten in order to summon the spirits. A buffalo was tied to a tree waiting to be slaughtered.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 10. — Tomai Lingkoe's sword, above; his son Mahali's sword, below.

On the day fixed for the *balia* a crowd of people in their best clothes gathered on the bank of a stream east of Bola Papoe Hill. A couple of humped over priests, *Tobalia*, tottered about on bent knees. Like the rest of the party they were in full dress. As a token of their function they had a brass bell dangling on a string on their back and a priest sword on the left hip. The bottom of the sheath of such a weapon was decorated with a tuft of hair from scalps (Figs. 10 and 11, p. 62).

When we came down to the stream, the *balia* had already started. Old Tomai Lingkoe was sitting on the bank almost stripped of his clothes, and the *Tobalia* were practising their hocus-pocus. First

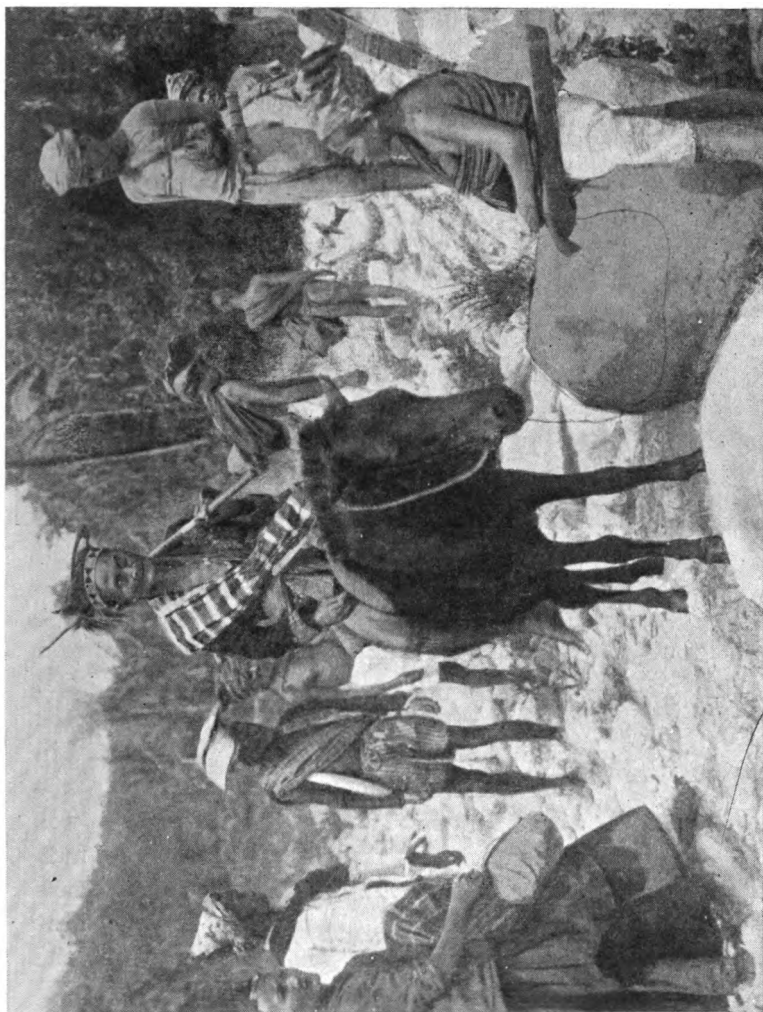


they soaked the patient's hair with water from the stream, then one of the priests took some water in his hand and rubbed the crown of Tomai Lingkoe's head with it at the same time pronouncing some formula of incantation. This done, the sufferer was thoroughly bathed in the cold water of the stream by his younger wife and finally they lifted him on to the bank. On his neck was put a band of cloth, knotted off into small sections, each containing a quotation, presumably from the Koran, and acquired on the coast. Then they placed their man on a large stone and started dressing him. On the ground in front of him was a shield and in this lay the clothing he was to wear. They started with the trousers which were swung three times round Tomai Lingkoe's head before they were pulled on his stiff legs by the priests. Then a fine sword was in turn to be tied to his left side by means of a long, broad sash; a jacket of black velvet with silver embroidery was put on, and on his neck they hung a necklace of beads. Upon this they began attending to his hair and his head-gear. One of the priests gathered in his hand Tomai Lingkoe's rather long hair on the crown, twisted it and tied a braid of false hair to it and arranged it in a pad round his head fixing it at the back with a long feathered arrow (Fig. II, p. 62). They finished by fastening on the crown a flat spiral ornament of brass, about three centimetres broad, a *balaloengki*.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 11. — Tomai Lingkoe is being dressed by the priests on the bank of a small river after a treatment for his health.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

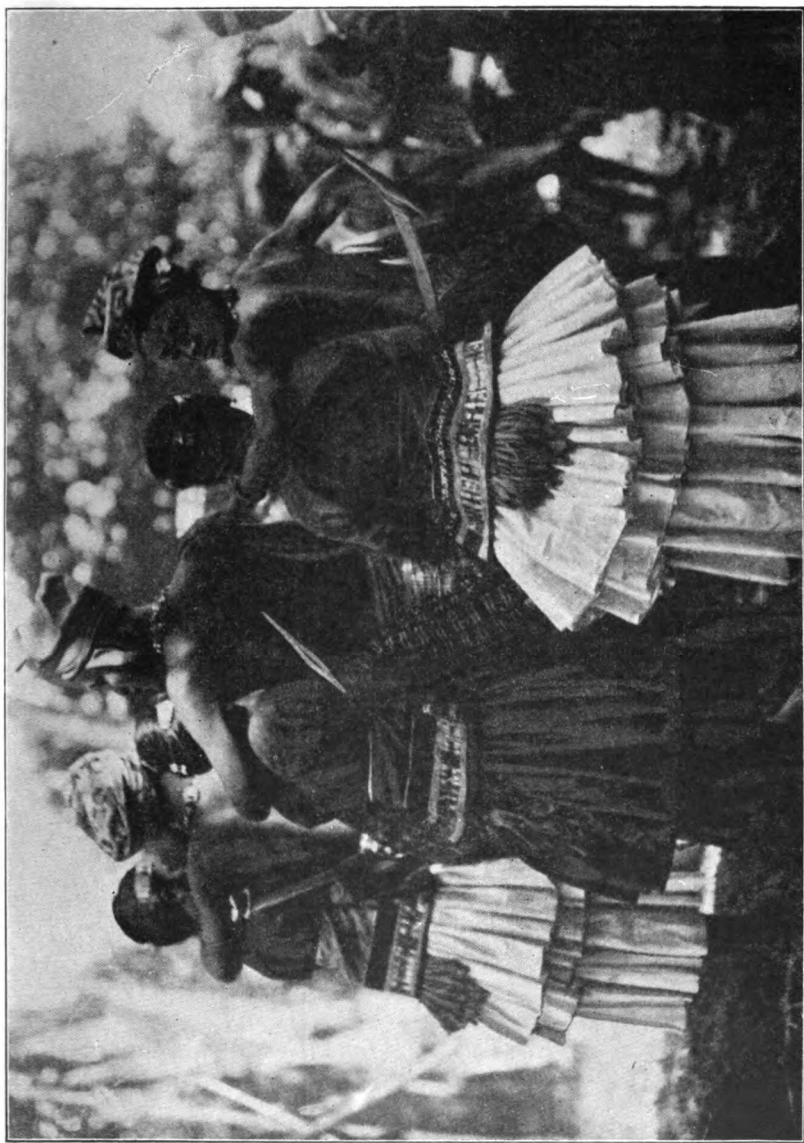
Fig. 12. — Tomai Lingkoe has been helped onto his horse for the return to his house after the performance, balia, by the river.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 13. — Young Koelawian maradika people dance the morego.

When our man had got all his finery on they lifted him on a sedate horse (Fig. 12, p. 63). In one hand they gave him a spear decorated with a fringe of goat's-hair, in the other his shield, and then the party set off for his house where the buffalo was killed and a festive meal served of which we got a share. From Tomai Lingkoe's house a tray was brought to us with meat and other food as well. The tray was the kind of large brass tray which the natives call *doela*. In the evening the maradika girls and men danced the morego on the ground in front of the house (Figs. 13 and 14, p. 65).



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918  
Fig. 14. — Young Koelawian maradika people dance the morego.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 15. — Mahali, Tomai Lingkoe's son.

Children by the first marriage:

- 1) s. *Lingkoe* †, died as a baby in Rampi.

Children by the second marriage:

- 1) d. *Haniga* (*Tina Maža*) who married *Jaroe* (*Tai Tagoeni*) of Family XVI.
- 2) d. *Talimoe* (*Tina Genta*) who married *Djiloi* (*Tai Genta*) of Family VI.
- 3) d. *Rari* (*Tina Tandoe*) who married *Tanibia* (*Tai Pengata*) of Family IV.

Children by the third marriage:

- 1) d. *Lohei* (*Tina Magoerisi*) who married *Sigi Paloe* (*Tomai Noeroe*) of Family XVI. She married in 1918 when she had a son and expected her second child by *Sigi Paloe*.

Children by the fourth marriage:

- 1) s. *Mahali*, christened *Moesa* (*Moses*), born in 1902. He went through the four classes of the Salvation Army's school in Koelawi and later passed the examination for native teachers (Figs. 7, 15, pp. 56, 66).  
 m. *Koeti* in 1920 according to the missionary Mr. ROSENLUND. Her family is unknown to me.
- 2) d. *Benaia*, born in 1904 or 1905. She has passed through the Salvation Army's school in Koelawi (Fig. 7 p. 56).
- 3) d. *Magdalena* (according to Mr. ROSENLUND). (Fig. 7, p. 56).
- 2 d. *Tjindiwongi*, or *Tosindi* (*Tina Rongko*) † on August 13th in 1918. She married *Lahamoe* (*Tomai Rongko*) of Family VIII.

My wife and I were invited to be present when Tina Rongko was buried on the 15th of August. The house of mourning was in the village of Panapa situated on the northern end of Bolapapoe Hill. There were scores of people in full dress when we arrived. Most of them chewed betel and sirih to pass the time. Gradually there arrived the Magaoe and



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 16. — Tosindi's burial in Koelawi. Her coffin has been brought outside her house.

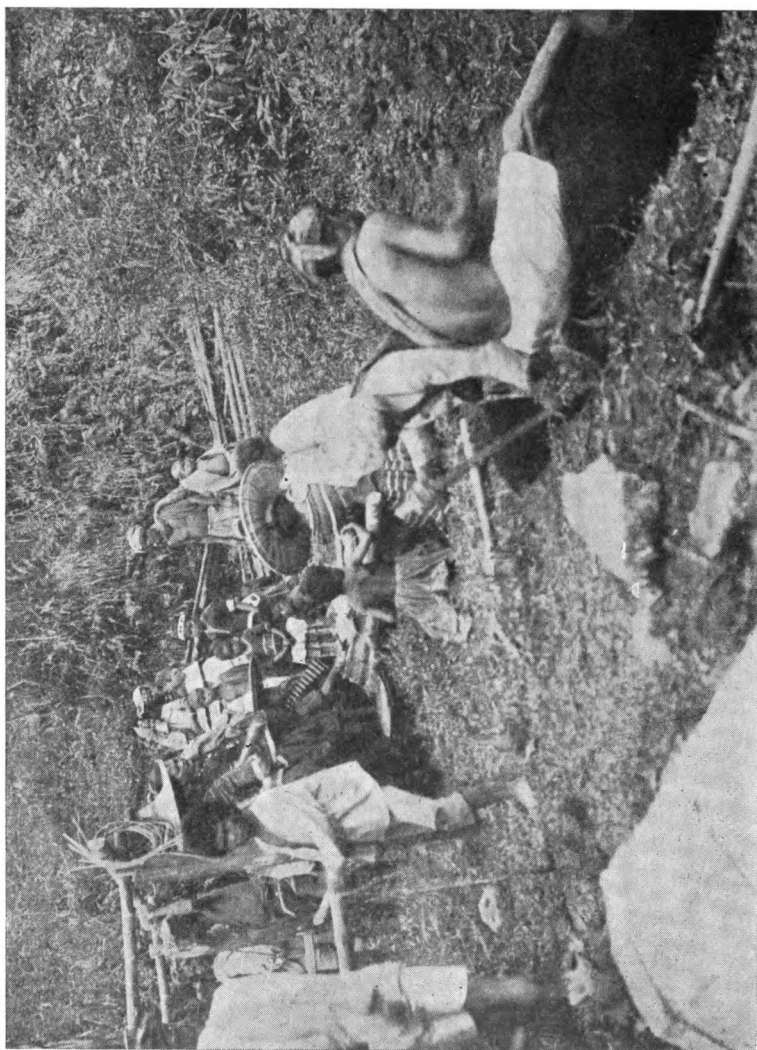
his wife, the Dutch official called "assistant," a native from Minahassa, N. Celebes, several village headmen, priests and priestesses. Moaning was occasionally heard from the house where the deceased rested in her coffin, a hollowed out piece of a tree trunk. At last they were ready to take the coffin to the grave. Two long bamboo rods and some strips of rattan were brought in front of the steps leading into the house. When the coffin appeared in the doorway the persons inside were heard moaning loudly as if they were in great distress. The coffin slowly and with great care was let down the steps, or rather the ladder, to the ground and then the two rods were fastened to its sides (Fig. 16).



As the coffin had no lid we had a full view of the deceased who was resting on a bed of expensive woven cloths. There were plenty of the beautiful fabrics of the district of Pada, situated some days' marches towards the south. The face of the dead was ashen and hollow and had almost the appearance of a skull. The old woman had been suffering for a long time and had slowly wasted away, and her family were impatient that she was so long in expiring. In Koelawi a person with a lingering illness is sure to lose the regard of the family, and their attentions diminish accordingly.

On the eyes of the deceased her people had strewn a pinch of wash-gold when the coffin was still in the house. This was repeated when it was brought outside, and then a handkerchief was spread over her face. Four men took hold of the rods and the coffin was carried to the grave. One by one, in a long file the people assembled followed to the burial place on a terrace on the western slope of the hill. Several objects were brought to the grave: some brass trays, *doela*, a teapot of the same metal, some food on common china plates, ashes and charcoal in a coconut shell, and a sleeping mat in a roll. The coconut shell and the mat were carried by a female slave.

At the burial place some men were finishing digging the grave when we arrived. The grave was exceptionally



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918  
Fig. 17. — Tosindi's coffin has been placed close to the grave.

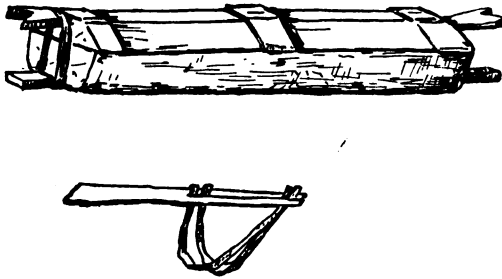


Fig. 18. — Tosindi's coffin and the little whisk used for driving away flies.

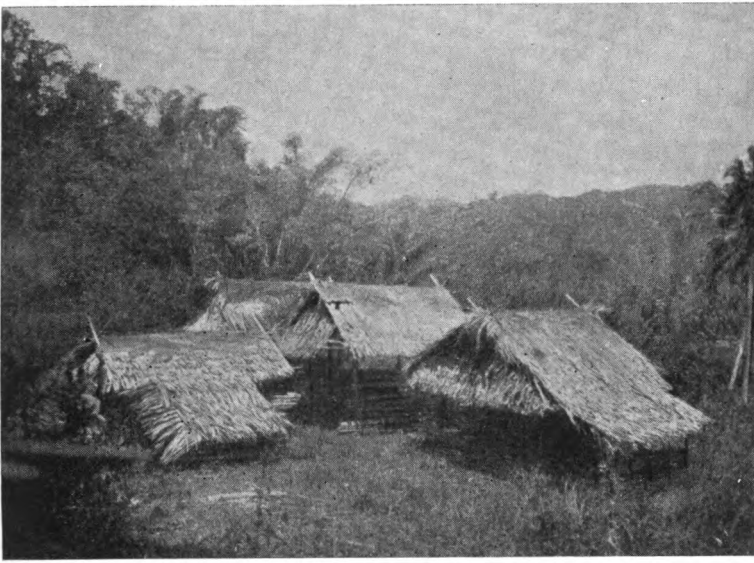
narrow. Near by lay the lid of the coffin, and at a distance other men were busy making a very simple little house which was to be placed on top of the grave. During the preparations on the burial ground a woman who was said to be an adopted child of the dead *m a r a d i k a*'s was kneeling by the coffin singing mourning songs (Fig. 17 p. 70). Her skirt was a *Pada* cloth, the same kind as those in the coffin, her tunic, *h a l i l i*, of cloth decorated with applied large ornaments in the shape of buffalo horns. Over her shoulders she wore a large collar of variegated beads called *h a l i l i e n o e*, on her head she had a common broad brimmed *Koelawian* straw hat, *t o r o e*.

The whole time a little slave girl sitting at the head of the dead fanned away flies from the corpse. Her fan was a small rod of bamboo with a couple of bast cloth strips fastened to it (Fig. 18). Later this little thing went into the coffin.

When the preparations were ended the coffin was placed on a couple of rods which the men had laid across the pit. Wash-gold was again strewn on the eyelids of the deceased and then the cover was lashed to the coffin with strips of rattan (Fig. 18 p. 71). The foster-daughter advanced to the grave with a chicken in her hand, uttered some words, knocked the fowl a couple of times on the coffin and threw it into the pit. Upon this she left the burial place.

The coffin was sunk into the grave and an old man stepped forth and began speaking in a loud and powerful voice, presumably addressing the spirits. As soon as he had finished his speech he too went away and likewise all the women. The men remained to help fill the grave, but before starting this performance five *d o e l a* were placed round the coffin. One of these had a stand. On top of the grave the plates with cooked rice and eggs were placed as well as an earthen pot with a ladle, the shell with charcoal and ashes, the teapot, and the sleeping mat, and the little house was lifted from where it stood and set down over the grave (Fig. 19 p. 73). The *d o e l a*, the chicken, the wash-gold etc., were things considered necessary for the deceased on her way to the Realm of Death.

For nine days after the burial it was forbidden to dance the *m o r e g o*, to shoot, and to climb trees, especially the



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 19. — Small houses on maradika graves in Koelawi.

coconut palms. Heavy rains fell during these days and the natives said that Nature itself took part in their mourning.

- 3 s. Mantoeli (Tomai Wenta)  
 m. 1. Toradioe (Tina Wenta)  
       whose family is unknown to me.  
 m. 2. Podei (Tina Boelawa) of  
       Family XVI.

Children by the first marriage:

- 1) d. *Wenta*
- 2) s. *Koemeno*
- 3) s. *Idjoe*

Children by the second marriage:

- 1) d. *Boelawa*, born towards the end of the eighties (Fig. 20 p. 74). She married *Tomampe* of Family XV.



O. STRANDLUND Photo 1914

Fig. 20. — Boelawa.

- 2) d. *Topaioe (Tina Lagaga)* who married *Hambibi (Tomai Lagaga)* of Family III.
- 3) s. *Roendoe (Tomai Isa)*, one of the few persons in Koelawi who were Mohammedans. He married *nTodalali* of Family XI. Her mother, *Tina Hameia*, or *Sameia* was not a *maradika*.

Children:

- (1) s. *Isa*, who died quite young in 1918.

(2) ? A baby who had not got a name in 1918.

- 4) d. *Datorea (Tina Palopo)* who married *Tomai Palopo* of Family XIII.
- 5) d. *Topere (Tina Djiloi)* †, who married *mPodate (Tai Djiloi)* †, of Family VII.

mBosolaboe's children by his second marriage:

- 1 s. *Tamehapata*, or *Tomai Hapata*, who had two wives, the first one living at Lemoe, the second at Boladanko. Their names and families are unknown to me.

Children by the first marriage:

- 1) s. *Hambibi (Tomai Lagaga)*  
m. *Topajoe (Tina Lagaga)* of Family III. In this case the man and his wife are half-cousins.

Children:

- (1) s. *Lagaga*, born in 1912 or 1913
- (2) d. *Larasa*, presumably born in 1915
- 2) s. *Dolo* or *Idolo*  
m. *Himbai* in 1918. Her family unknown to me.
- 3) d. *Taiapa*
- 4) d. *Kamomi (Tina Noeroe)* who married *Sigi Paloe (Tomai Noeroe)* of Family XVI.

Children by his second marriage:

1) s. *Sapata*, or *Hapata*, not married in 1918.

2) s. *Timonga*, not married in 1918.

2 d. *Topere* (*Tinem Powintoe*) who married *Tjoemanga* (*Tai Powintoe*) of Family V.

2 s. **Mesagala (Tomai Mampeli)** †, was mBosolaboe's brother and he is the same man whom the cousins SARASIN call Tomempeli. They state that he was the ruler of Koelawi in 1902. Mesagala's lineage has been provided by the Salvation Army officer in Koelawi, Mr. ROSEN LUND.

m. **Tina Mampeli** whose family is unknown to me.

Children:

1 s. **Mampeli** (*Tai Lamboe*)  
m. **Pondito** (*Tina Lamboe*). Her family unknown to me.

Children:

1) s. *Lamboe*

2) s. *Tomai Roegoe*

m. *Tina Roegoe*. Her family unknown to me.

3) s. *Todapa*

2 s. **Torongko** (*Tomai Tiroa*)

m. **Salama** (*Tina Tiroa*). Her family unknown to me.

Children:

1) d. *Tiroa*

2) ? *Kamogi*



- 3) d. *Manoeroe*
- 4) d. *Kadoedoe*
- 5) d. *Talebana*
- 6) s. *Pantjoeraro*
- 7) d. *Tomataja*

3 s. *Towera* married a girl whose name and family are unknown to me.

4 d. *Todoela* (*Tina Tale*) who married *Tawana*. His family is unknown to me.

Child:

d. *Tale*.

#### IV

#### The Tai mPangata Family

The family I have named after its oldest male member in 1918 *Tanibia*, or *Tai mPangata*.

1. *TONA*, or *ITONA* (*TAI TODJARI*) †  
m. *TORAË* (*TINA DJARI*) †, of Family XI.

Children:

- 1 d. *Itodjari*, or *Todjari* (*Tina Palaha*) who married *Tomekorandi* (*Tomai Palaha*) of Family XVII, from *Lindoe*.
- 2 s. *Tanibia* (*Tai mPangata*)  
m. 1. *Tobingka* (*Tina Pangata*). Her family unknown to me.  
m. 2. *mPoreka* (*Tina Tongke*). Her family unknown to me.

m. 3. **Ronaë (Tina Togie)**. Her family unknown to me.

m. 4. **Rari (Tina Tandoe)** of Family III.

Child by the first marriage:

s. **Pengata, Panggata, or mPangata**

m. **Tjoti** of Family II.

Children:

1) d. *Mariana*

2) d. *Ratabana* who married *Tikoe* of Family IX.

3) d. *mBaia*, not married in 1918.

4) d. *Tomaheio*, or according to Mr. ROSEN-  
LUND, *Maoewa*, not married  
in 1918.

Children by the second marriage:

1 s. **Tongke**

2 s. **Tobekke**

Child by the third marriage:

s. **Togie**

Child by the fourth marriage:

s. **Tandoe**

3 s. **Lawegaoe** (according to Mr ROSEN-  
LUND)

4 d. **Tolana** who married **nTadjoeli** †, whose family  
is unknown to me.

Children:

1 d. **Tobé**, not married in 1918.

2 d. **nKaroeani**, not married in 1918.

5 ? **Kalosi**, or **Kalohi**

6 d. **Lindoeréa**.

## V

**The Tai Powintoe Family**

This family I have named after nTjoemanga, Tai Powintoe, who in 1918 was the oldest male member of the family.

PARAPALEMBEA (TOMAI LADJOEMA) †

m. TINA LADJOEMA, presumably dead before 1918. Her family unknown to me.

Children:

1 s. **Ladjoema (Tai Bidja)**, presumably dead before 1918.

m. **Tina Bidja**, presumably dead before 1918. Her family unknown to me.

Child:

Bidja, sex unknown to me.

2 s. **nTjoemanga (Tomai Powintoe)**

m. **nTopere (Tinem Powintoe)** of Family III.

Children:

1 d. **Poewintoe, or Powintoe**, who married **Parewa (Tomai Tomoea)** of Family XII.

2 s. **Tohoba (Tai Karoeпа)**

m. **mPotente (Tina Karoeпа)** of Family VII.

Children:

1) s. *nKaroepa* †

2) d. *mPotoli* (Fig. 21 p. 80)

3) d. *Kadera*

4) s. A baby who in 1918 had not yet a name.



E. ROSENLUND Photo 1919 or 1920

Fig. 21. — Potoli, daughter of Tai Karoepa.

3 d. Toroehooe (Tina Radoeati)  
who married Togave (Tomai Radoeati) of Family VI.

4 d. nToreo, who married ngKarihi.  
His family is unknown to me.

Child:

A girl who died as a baby.

5 s. Toneke  
m. Moni, whose family is unknown  
to me.

## Children:

Twin boys born in 1918 who had no name at that time.

6 d. **P a n g k o r o e**

3 s. **Bokoede (Tomai Nabi)**, presumably dead before 1918.

m. **Tina Nabi**, presumably dead before 1918.  
Her family is unknown to me.

## Child:

**N a b i**. Sex unknown to me.

4 d. **Toramaëa (Tina Poto)**, presumably dead before 1918. She married **Tomai Poto**, presumably dead before 1918.

## Child:

**Poto**. Sex unknown to me.

5 d. **mPotainoe (Tina Latoïnda)** †. She married **Tokeri (Tomai Latoïnda)** of Family XVI.

## VI

**The Tomai Radoeati Family**

The family I have named after its most prominent male member in 1918, Togawoe, or Tomai Radoeati.

**LAHOIRA (TAI LAMANIRI)**

m. **TORAINDOE (TINA LAMANIRI)**. Her family not known to me.

## Children:

1 d. **Lamaniri (Tina Poraha)**, who married **Tomai Poraha**. His family is unknown to me.

Child:

P o r a h a. Sex unknown to me.

**2 s. Togawe (Tomai Radoeati)**

m. **Toroehooe (Tina Radoeati)** of Family V.

Children:

1 s. **D a r o e a t i**, or **R a d o e a t i**, born in 1906.

2 s. **H a l o e m p a n a**, presumably born in 1908.

3 d. m **P o t e r e**, presumably born in 1912.

4 d. n **T o d o e l a**, presumably born in 1915.

**3 d. Taëba (Tin Potaha)** who married **Tomai Potaha**.

His family unknown to me.

Child:

P o t a h a, sex unknown to me.

**4 d. Limboeroe.**

## VII

### The Tomai Rengke Family

This family I have named after its oldest male member in 1918, nTowoa, or Towaa, Tomai Rengke, who was the first M a g a o e of Koelawi, appointed by the Dutch when they had brought the country under Dutch rule.

POTEMPA (TOMAI PAOE) †

m. nTOWONGI (TINEM PAOE) †. Her family unknown to me.

Children:

1 ? **Paoe** whoe died as a child. Some people said Paoe was a girl, but Tomai Lingkoe said it was a boy.

- 2 d. **Panaroe**, presumably dead before 1918.
- 3 s. **mPodate**, or **Pondate (Tomai Djiloi)** †  
m. **Topere (Tina Djiloi)** †, of Family III.

Children:

- 1 d. **mPomona**, **mPomola**, or **Pomoe-la** (Tina Hebe) who married **Lahigi (Tomai Hebe)** of Family VIII.
- 2 s. **Djiloi (Tai nGenta)**. How to explain why the parents had taken their name from this son and not from his elder sister **mPomona** I do not know. Possibly she was an adopted child, or my informants have made a mistake, **Djiloi** being older than his sister **mPomona**. When **Magaoe Tomampe** died in 1918 **Djiloi** was appointed his successor by the Dutch authorities.
- m. **Talimoe (Tina nGenta)** of Family III.

Children:

- 1) s. *nGenta*
- 2) s. *Medja*
- 3) s.? This child was born in 1916 or the beginning of 1917. I was told that it was a girl who had no name in 1918. A year later Mr. ROSEN-LUND informed me that it was a boy who was named *Joesoe*.
- 3 d. **mPodoenoe**, or **Podjoenoe**, who married **nKaloeara** of Family II.
- 4 d. **mPotente (Tina Karoepa)** who married **Tohoba (Tai Karoepa)** of Family V.

- 4 d. **nKalea**, or **Sengkalea** (**Tina Mentjeho**) †. She married **Pagira** (**Tai Mentjeho**) of Family XV.
- 5 d. **nTohongki**, presumably dead before 1918.
- 6 s. **nTowaa**, or **Towaa** (**Tomai Rengke**, or **Tomai Torengke**), who was appointed **M a g a o e** of **Koelawi** by the Dutch on January 24th in 1906. He signed the treaty of November 30th, 1908, between the Dutch Government and **Koelawi**. About 1910 he retired from his post because of his advanced age.
- m. **Tinen Rengke** whose family is unknown to me.

Children:

- 1 s. **R e n g k e**, died young.
- 2 d. **T a n o k o**, not married in 1918.
- 3 d. **I r a n t e b a d a**, not married in 1918.
- 4 d. **T i t e**, not married in 1918.

## VIII

### The Tomai Rongko Family

**Tomai Rongko** was a **m a r a d i k a** of high standing. I have given the family his name because he seems in 1918 to have been its oldest member. Some natives said he had elder brothers and that he had a sister, **Tin Toila**, still alive in 1918, but this woman is not quite sure to have been a real sister. The natives often called a sister-in-law their sister. There were other natives who said **Tin Toila** was the widow of an elder brother of **Tomai Rongko's**.

When I had left **Koelawi** the missionary **Mr. ROSENLUND** sent me a list of **Tomai Rongko's** brothers and sisters which on the family register of my Swedish book "**I Celebes Obygder**," 1921, are given the numbers three to nine. The se-



quence, however, as given by Mr. ROSEN LUND does not seem to be quite correct. Tohimo is stated to be the fifth child, but in all probability he was the first one, since his father, Doerio, is called Tomai Tohimo, and his mother, Tina Tohimo, names they certainly would not have taken if they had had four children when Tohimo was born.

DOERIO (TAI TOHIMO) †

m. TINA TOHIMO †

Children:

- 1 s. **Tohimo (Tai Paholi)**. According to Mr. ROSEN LUND he was the fifth of the children. Presumably dead before 1918.

m. **Tina Paholi**, presumably dead before 1918. Her family unknown to me.

Child:

P a h o l i. Sex unknown to me.

- 2 s. **Gisilore (Taimen Toila)**, presumably dead before 1918. According to Mr. ROSEN LUND he was the oldest of the children.

m. **Tin Toila**. If this is correct Tin Toila's family is unknown to me. If the other statement is true saying Tin Toila was a younger sister of Tomai Rongko's, I know nothing about her husband's family.

Children:

- 1 s. **Toila (Tomai Noengkoe)**

m. **Bitoeë (Tina Noengkoe)**. Her family unknown to me.

Children:

1) d. *Noengkoe*

2) s. This baby had no name in 1918.

- 2 d. *Nai* who married *Palopo* of Family XII.
- 3 d. *Kika*, or *Kiha*, who married *Pendanga* in 1918. His family unknown to me.
- 3 s. *Lahamoe* (*Tomai Rongko*). According to Mr. ROSEN LUND he was the second child of the family.
- m. *Tjindiwongi*, or *Tosindi* (*Tina Rongko*) who died on August 13th in 1918. She was of Family III.

## Children:

- 1 d. m *Poemako*, or *Pomako* (*Tina Mampo*) who married *Lakoentoe* (*Tomai Mampo*) of Family XVI.
- 2 s. *Rongko* (*Tai nToroë*). I suppose my informants have made a mistake here. Judging by the names of the parents *Rongko* will be older than *Pomako*.
- m. *Binoekoe* (*Tina Toroë*) of Family XV.

## Children:

- 1) ? *Toroë* who died as a baby. Sex unknown to me.
- 2) d. *Kamana* who married *Lamahatoe* of Family I.
- 3) s. *nTaloendoe*, not married in 1918.
- 4) s. *Bentjara*, not married in 1918.
- 5) s. *Maradjoeni*, not married in 1918.
- 3 s. *Lahigi* (*Tomai Hebe*)
- m. m *Pomona*, or m *Pomoela* (*Tina Hebe*) of Family VIII.

## Children:

- 1) s. *Hebe*, or *Isebe*, not married in 1918.
- 2) s. *Tagoeni*, not married in 1918. There is another young man of nearly the same name, n'Tagoeni who lived in Lindoe.
- 3) s. *Boeletoe*, or *Woeletoe*, not married in 1918.
- 4) d. *Iangi*, not married in 1918.
- 4 s. nTj o b o e
  - m. K o m b a d j a, or T o b a d j a of Family XV. No children in 1918.
- 5 d. H o r o n a i, or H o e r o n a i, who married I d o m p o, or D o m p o †, of Family XVI (fig. 29, p. 115).
- 4 s. **Girandoe (Tai Lolage)**, presumably dead before 1918. According to Mr. ROSEN LUND he was the third of the children.
- m. **Tina Lolage**, presumably dead before 1918. Her family unknown to me.

## Child:

L o l a g e. Sex unknown to me.

- 5 s. **Pakiloe (Tai Tandoele)**, presumably dead before 1918. According to Mr. ROSEN LUND he was the fourth of the children.
- m. **Tina Tandoele**, presumably dead before 1918. Her Family unknown to me.

## Child:

T a n d o e l e. Sex unknown to me.

- 6 d. **Banaoge (Tina Kalamboe)**, presumably dead before 1918. She married Tai **Kalamboe**, presumably dead before 1918. His family is unknown to me.

## Child:

- d. **K a l a m b o e** (**T i n a H a n i n g a**) who married **M a k o e a s a** (**T o m a i L i n g k o e**) of Family III.

- 7 d. **T o b o e d i** (**T i n a H o n g k o d o d a**) presumably dead before 1918. She married **T o m a i H o n g k o d o d a**, presumably dead before 1918. His family unknown to me.

## Child:

**H o n g k o d o d a**. Sex unknown to me.

- 8 d. **L o e n g k o e n o e n o e**, presumably dead before 1918.  
9 d. **T i n a P a l i n g e**, presumably dead before 1918. She married **T o m a i P a l i n g e**. His family is unknown to me.

## Child:

- d. **P a l i n g e** (**T i n e n K a l o e a r a**). She married **m P a g o e r o e** (**T o m a i K a l o e a r a**) of Family II.

## IX

**The Tai Tawelana Family**

The family I have named after its most prominent male member in 1918 **mBoli**, **Tai Tawelana**.

**TOMAI KAODJOE**, or **TOMAI ODJOE**, from the Toro district.  
m. **TINA ODJOE**, or **TINA KAODJOE** of Family II.

## Children:

- 1 s. **Kaodjoe**, presumably dead when a child.  
2 s. **mBoli** (**Tai Tawelana**)  
m. **Tin Tawelana**. Her family unknown to me.

Children:

- 1 d. n T a w e l a n a
- 2 s. T i k o e
- m. R a t a b a n a of Family IV.

Child:

- s. *Polo*
- 3 d. n g K o d o e, or n K o d o e, who married  
T a n d e a l o e (T a i T a n g o) of Fam-  
ily X.
- 4 d. K o e k a
- 3 s. **Tomai Horaë**, lived in Toro.
- m. **Tina Horaë**. Her family unknown to me.

Child:

H o r a ë. Sex unknown to me.

---

The following five m a r a d i k a families were said to be real Koelawian families. My principal informant in their case was Mahali who had taken the statements down from his father's, Tomai Lingkoe, dictation. Afterwards I have added some data supplied by Mr. ROSENLUND, but these I have not had an opportunity of verifying myself.

## X

**The Tomai Tjawelanghi Family**

The most prominent male member of this family was in 1918 nToëke, Tomai Tjawelanghi.

NTOËKE (TOMAI TJAWELANGI)

m. TOBANDEOGE (TIN TJAWELANGI) of Family I.

Children:

- 1 d. nTjawelanghi (Tina Rahidi) who married Potontja (Tai Rahidi). His family is unknown to me.

Children:

- 1 d. Rahidi  
2 d. Topekko (Tina Gana) who married Tomai Gana. His family is unknown to me.

Child:

*Gana*. Sex unknown to me.

- 3 s. Tandualo (Tai Tango)  
m. nKodoe, or ngKodoe (Tina Tango) of Family IX.

Child:

*Tango*. Sex unknown to me.

- 4 d. Todeni (Tina Dahi) who married Tomai Dahi. His family unknown to me.

Child:

*Dahi*. Sex unknown to me.

- 2 s. Palandoe  
3 d. Tjindirio  
4 s. nTobagoe  
5 s. Timbabibo  
6 s. Randoelawi (Tai Kamboe)

- m. **Tomone (Tina Kamboe)** whose family is unknown to me. Certainly there has been a child called Kamboe, judging by the name taken by the parents. No doubt it died as a baby since my informants have not mentioned it to me.

Children:

- 1 d. **H a r i**
- 2 d. **H o e r i**
- 3 s. **K o r o b a**
- 7 s. **P o n d i.**

XI

**The Tai Tempa Family**

This family's name is taken from Tai Tempa, who was called Lagane before he married and became the father of Tempa. I do not know for certain that he was still alive in 1918.

**MPOTONDOE (TAI TORA) †**

m. **MPOSENGKO, or MPOHENGKO (TINA TORA) †, of Family I.**

Children:

In all probability all were dead before 1918, presumably with the exception of Tai Tempa.

- 1 s. **nTolaki (Tai Komo)**
- m. **Tohori (Tina Komo),** Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

- 1 d. K o m o
- 2 s. T i p o
- 3 d. T o p i r e
- 4 d. T o m a ë g o e
- 5 d. T o m i d o
- 2 d. nToraë, or Toraë (Tina Djari) †. She married  
Itona, or Tona (Tai Todjari) †, of Family IV.
- 3 d. nToringko
- 4 d. nToepoea
- 5 s. Lagane (Tai Tempa)
  - m. Tjoemoea (Tina Tempa) who was not a m a-  
r a d i k a by birth. According to other  
statements referring to the man Roendoe  
of Family III, this woman's name was Tina  
Hameia, but there seems to be a mistake  
somehow. There is a daughter Hamia, the  
second child, but if she is Tjoemoea's first  
child, the son Tempa would be the child  
of another wife.

## Children:

- 1 s. T e m p a
- 2 d. H a m i a
- 3 d. nToedali who married R o e n d o e  
(T o m a i I s a) of Family III.
- 4 ? P o t a r i
- 6 s. Lahongi
- 7 s. Labontoe
- 8 s. Tora. I suppose Tora is the first child of the  
family since his parents have taken his mane  
and called themselves Tai Tora and Tina Tora.



## XII

**The Tai Palopo Family**

The oldest and most prominent man in this family was nTjalaga, Tai Palopo.

nTJOEGI †

m. NGSANDELE †. Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

- 1 s. nTjalaga (Tai Palopo)  
m. Datorea (Tina Palopo) of Family III.

## Children:

- 1 s. A m b o
- 2 s. P a l o p o. Presumably he is the first child of the family.  
m. N a i of Family VIII.
- 3 s. B a s o
- 4 s. L a m b a n i
- 5 s. B o e n d o e
- 6 d. n T o p e k a
- 2 s. m P a t a k o
- 3 s. P a r e w a (Tai Tomoea)  
m. P o w i n t o e (Tina Tomoea). Her family unknown to me.

## Children

- 1 d. T o m o e a
- 2 s. B a n d e
- 3 s. P e g i o e
- 4 s. T o h o e m o n d a (Tai Koelani)  
m. B a ã o (Tina Koelandi). Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

1 s. Koelandi

2 d. nTjaka

5 s. Pakewa (Tomain Potoloe)

m. Talame (Tina Potoloe). Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

1 s. Potoloe

2 d. Taoende

3 s. Bentei

## XIII

## The Tai Jaho Family

I am not quite positive about this family being a real Koelawian family, because it was stated that Winoë, Djaroe's wife number two, was from Lindoe. If this is correct her father, and very likely her grandfather as well would be from Lindoe, in which case this family should be ranged with those who have come from Lindoe and settled in Koelawi.

PADOENGKOE (TAI JAH)

m. TINA JAH. Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

1 s. Jaho (Tomai Limbagoe),

m. Tawongi (Tina Limbagoe). She is very likely the same person as Tawongoe of Family I, daughter of Toëndi (Tina Tawongoe and Tomai Tawongoe).

## Children:

- 1 s. Lim bagoe
- 2 d. Talame (Tina Potoloe) who married Pakewa (Tomai Potoloe) of Family XII.
- 3 s. Tagasa
- 2 s. Tobika (Tomai Oloe)
  - m. Ampidjala (Tina Oloe). Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

- 1 s. Oloe
- 2 d. Toningki
- 3 d. Winoë (Tin Tagoeni) who married Djaroe, or Palangkodjaroe (Tai Tagoeni) of Family XVI.

## XIV

**The Tai Rentja Family**

This family I have named after the oldest known male member of the family. In 1918 all its members had left Koelawi. Most of them had settled in North Celebes.

- 1. LAGIMPOE (TAI RENTJA)
  - m. TOWOTI (TINA RENTJA). Her family unknown to me.

## Children:

- 1 s. Rentja, or Irentja (Tomai Horlodji).
  - m. Tohiri (Tina Horlodji) of Family XV. These two have left Koelawi and settled in Onka, N. Celebes. Here they have become Mohammedans.

## Children:

1 d. **Horlodji**2 s. **Kontooeda**2 ? **Kaimoemoe**, Presumably married and living in Toro.2. ? **LAHORA**, has left Koelawi and settled in Toli Toli, N. Celebes.

## XV

**The Toewa Family**

This family I have named after the old village of Toewa situated north of Koelawi on the northern slope of Mount Momi, because the family was said originally to have lived here.

**PAGIRA** (TAI TJEHO, or TAI MENTJEHO) presumably dead before 1918.

m. **SENGKALEA**, or **NKALEA** (TINEN TJEHO, or TINA MENTJEHO) of Family VII. She died about 1910. The natives told me there had been several ceremonies in connection with her burial which were not used in 1918 when Tosindi (Tina Rongko) was buried. For instance, two slaves had been killed to wait upon the great lady on her journey to the Kingdom of Death.

## Children:

1 s. **Mentjeho** †

2 s. **Lahore** (Tomai Sinto, or Hintooe) †. This man who in 1918 was dead many natives said ought to have been chosen by the Dutch for Magaoe of Koelawi instead of his younger brother Tomampe.

m. 1. **Topompe** (Tina Hintooe). Her family unknown to me.

- m. 2. **Ponito (Tina Kahania)**, presumably dead before 1918. Her family unknown to me.

Children by the first marriage:

- 1 s. **Sinto**, or **Sintooe**, or **Hintoee**  
m. **Toeribo**. Her family unknown to me.

Child:

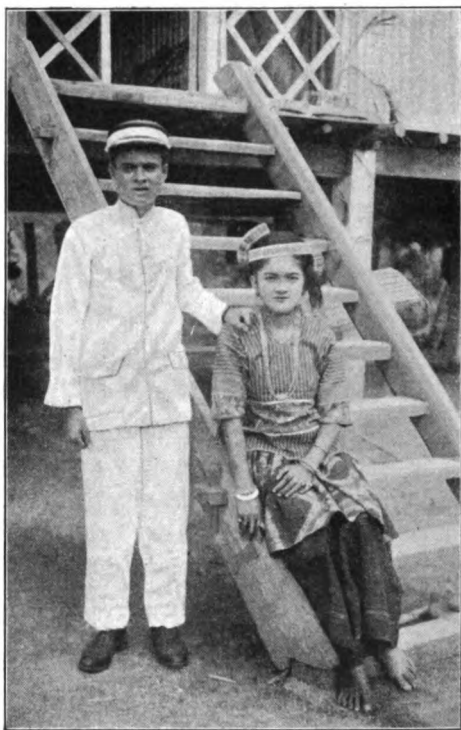
A boy who was born in 1918 and had not yet a name.

- 2 d. **Tohiri (Tina Horlodji)** who married **Irentja (Tomai Horlodji)** of Family XIV.  
3 d. **Kombadja**, or **Tobadja**, who married **nTjoboe** of Family VIII.  
4 d. **nTohontjo**, not married in 1918.  
5 s. **Beroa**  
6 s. **Holoi**

Children by the second marriage:

- 1 d. **Kahania**  
2 d. **Iwalida**  
3 d. **Walihoera**  
3 d. **Binoekoe (Tina Toroë)** who married **Rongko (Tai Toroë)** of Family VIII.  
4 s. **Tomanpe**, born about 1887. He died on December 13th in 1918 of the Spanish influenza (Figs. 22 and 23, pp. 98, 99).  
m. **Boelawa** of Family III (Figs. 20 and 22, pp. 74, 98).

**Tomampe** was appointed a **Maga oe** about 1910 when **Tomai Rengke** (Family VII, p. 84) had resigned. The Dutch authorities sent him



O. STRANGLUND Photo 1914

Fig. 22. — Tomampe and Boelawa on the steps of their house at Lili.

to the town of Menado in North Celebes to learn to read and write and to speak Malay. When we met him he spoke rather poor Malay. In the art of writing he was no master. He confined himself to scribbling his name on acts drawn up by his secretary, in 1918 Tohama (Family II, p. 51), or by the man who represented the Dutch Government in Koelawi, a native from Minahassa, N. Celebes. His Dutch title was "inlandsch assistent."

In the beginning there was a certain animosity towards the new Magaoe among the To



O. STRANGLUND Photo 1914

Fig. 23. — Tomampe.

Koelawi who liked his elder brother Tomai Sinto better, presumably because he had more brains and a kinder heart than Tomampe. After Tomai Sinto's death the relations between Tomampe and his subjects improved by and by, but they had never much respect for him. He may, however, have been a good help to the Dutch "Controlleur" in Paloe, collecting taxes for him from Koelawi.

Tomampe, contrary to his people, confessed himself a follower of Mohammed and his religion, certainly not of conviction but rather because the native rulers in the Paloe Valley were Mohammedans, and he thought it proper for him to have the same religion as they had. But when he wanted to keep several wives as they did Boelawa, his wife would not hear of it. She

told him she would never allow him to take another wife. On a certain occasion when Tomampe was drunk at a great feast and lay his head on the lap of another woman she promised to cut his throat if he was unfaithful to her. The relations between Tomampe and Boelawa were towards the end of 1918 so strained that they did not live in the same house and were considering a divorce. The conflict was solved in a manner nobody had expected. The Spanish influenza carried off Tomampe.

Tomampe's best friends, his brother-in-law Roendoe and Kapoei, were ardent Mohammedans. If they had not used their influence on Tomampe he would no doubt have been a poor follower of the Prophet.

In spite of his Mohammedan faith Tomampe used to drink rather heavily. The beverage was palm wine. He was the only person in Koe-lawi I saw intoxicated by strong liquor. This happened on August 27th when there was a great feast called *w o e n t j a* which the natives arranged before starting the work on the paddy fields. It was expected to make this work prosperous. Some hundred people were present. Men and girls danced round a kind of Maypole. Married women sat on the ground or stood about watching the dance. All behaved nicely except Tomampe who was lying on the ground babbling and half drunk. Occasionally he leaned his head against a feeble-minded slave boy who obliged his master by searching his hair for lice. Boelawa who was seated on a chair near her husband looked bothered. Like the rest of the spectators she chewed betel and sirih to pass the time. The younger men showed



very little regard for their ruler, sneering and scoffing at him as they passed by. At last some older men interfered and brought Tomampe back to his house.

Tomampe had not much in his appearance in everyday life that made you realize he was the ruler of the country. Like everybody in Koelawi he was bare-footed. The only article indicating his rank was a head-cloth with silver embroideries. This he had bought on the coast.

One day he came to our house dressed in a greyish green suit, the same as the uniform used by the soldiers in the army of the Dutch East Indies. He was very proud of his new suit and told us he had bought it for seven and a half guilders from our Javanese servant Saridjan who had found the jacket rather small for him. Saridjan had bought the suit second-hand from a friend of his in Paloe.

It can hardly be said that Tomampe was fair to the Salvation Army missionary, a Dutchman Mr. LOOIS, who worked in Koelawi. To please the Dutch authorities in Paloe and Donggala he did not hesitate to slander on Mr. LOOIS, but at the same time he accepted with pleasure the kindnesses Mr. LOOIS showed him.

For a native I suppose Tomampe was rather a rich man. He never failed to make money if there was a chance for him to do so. If, for instance, one of his subjects was unable to pay his taxes, a very small sum, Tomampe would pay for him on the condition that the man would dig a large field for Tomampe where he could plant paddy which later yielded good profit. On a certain occasion the taxes of Koelawi proved to be short of some hundred guilders.

Tomampe made up the deficiency, but after that whenever a buffalo was killed the hide must be given to the M a g a o e.

Another source of income was the rice he used to sell to the military patrols which now and then came to Koelawi. Some days before the soldiers were expected to arrive notice was given to everybody to unhusk a certain quantity of paddy which was then collected by the M a g a o e's agents and delivered to the leader of the patrol who payed for it. The original purveyors of the rice did not receive a single cent of the money. It was rather amusing to learn that Tomampe charged the patrol Fl. 6.50 a "pikoel" when the price in Koelawi was Fl. 5, and next month when there came a patrol again, said prices had gone up a guilder and charged Fl. 7.50.

As mentioned in the foregoing M a g a o e Tomampe was one of the victims of the Spanish influenza which ravaged in Koelawi at the end of 1918. Of the two thousand inhabitants of this district four hundred were carried off by the epidemic. Tomampe was one of those who were first caught. He felt a little better one day and then he went down to the river and bathed in its cold water. That seems to have finished him. Mr. Loois who was very ill himself and could hardly walk, dragged himself to Tomampe's house on the paddy fields to help him at the last, and Mohammedan as he was, M a g a o e Tomampe died with his hand in the missionary's hand.

Tomampe was buried without any of the pomp and splendour due to the ruler of a country. Less than ten people attended the burial

because of the epidemic. They could not even make the proper coffin carved from a tree trunk, for him. Its substitute was a box made of boards from an old cupboard.

Towards the end of December when Koelawi began to recover from the influenza we heard rumours that Tomampe was walking after death. When he and Boelawa fell out with each other, she and the children went to live in their house on the paddy fields, leaving her husband to stay in their new house in the village of Lili. When Tomampe's children were taken ill with the influenza, his pride melted away and he went to his wife's house to see his dear children. It was in this house he himself ended his days. Strange to say it was not here that he was said to reappear but in his house at Lili. Nobody dared to stay in that house since at night a strange noise was heard and stones from nowhere were thrown at it. We soon learned why Magaoe Tomampe did not find rest in his grave. He had been buried in a coffin and his head was in the east, and not as he ought to be buried as a follower of Mohammed.

One night when the missionary and his family had gone to bed and put out their lamp they heard a strange clatter outside. It was as if somebody had been walking on the small road between their house and ours beating their bamboo fence with a stick. The noise stopped for a little while when two horses which were chasing each other rushed by the house on the road. In the early morning when the cocks began to crow, the beating ceased.

A couple of days after this happened, I went out for a walk with my family. We met Kapoei,

Tomampe's Mohammedan friend, and had a little chat with him. Kapoei had heard, he said, that our place too was haunted by Tomampe's ghost. Did we hear the ghost the other night? No, we did not, we were such sound sleepers, we told him, but it occurred to us that the ghost who played with the LOOIS's fence for a whole night had meant us to hear him, too, and that Kapoei knew rather much about the movements of the ghost, too much indeed not to be mixed up with him, a presumption which was confirmed by the events that followed.

When people had been sufficiently frightened by ghosts it was declared that Tomampe would never find rest in his grave unless he was buried as a faithful follower of the Prophet should be buried. On a fine morning some men from the village of Mataoeë were ordered to the burial place to open Tomampe's grave. The dead man who had rested in his coffin for more than a month was taken out, wrapped in cloths, and lowered into a new grave in such a manner that he rested on his right side and faced west, the point where the holy town of Mecca was.

When the Mataoeë men had finished their job they came to our house to buy soap from us for the money they had earned by their ghastly work, twenty-five cents, a sum they found far too small for handling a corpse all alive with worms. They very much doubted that the Dutch authorities had ordered the work to be done as they had been told by their employers.

As soon as Tomampe was buried in the manner the Mohammedans considered proper, nothing more was heard of his reappearing and the ghosts disappeared.

Boelawa, Tomampe's wife, was in many respects different from her husband. She was proud and conscious of her position as the first lady of the country. She always behaved as the member of a noble and important family she was. She was careful about her dress which always was in good taste. She was rather fair of complexion, almost like an inhabitant of southern Europe, and her features were fine and regular.

Children:

- 1 s. M a s i, presumably born in 1907. He was not a clever boy, haughty because he was the son of the M a g a o e and because he knew that the Dutch meant for him to be his father's successor.
  - 2 d. W i w i, presumably born in 1911. She was sent to school in 1918.
  - 3 s. S a n g a, born in 1917. According to Mr. ROSENLUND this boy was later called Idaë.
- 5 s. nTogero  
m. Nandoe of Family XVII.

Child:

- d. W a l e n g k o e, or I w a l e n g k o e, born either in 1913 or 1914.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1919

Fig. 24. — Lake Lindoe at the village of Tomado. To the right Lindoe Island where Toloemoepalio's sarcophagus was kept.

## XVI

### Lindoe Family No. 1

This family originally belonged to Lindoe (Fig. 24 p. 106). Some of the members married Koelawian *m a r a d i k a* and moved to Koelawi where in 1918 the majority of the family were living. The oldest ancestor they knew of was

MARADINDO, or TOLOEMOEPALIO †, born about 1830. He was stated to have come to Lindoe from Sigi in the Paloe Valley. He was the powerful ruler of Lindoe in the middle of the nineteenth century. His wars with his neighbours were successful. In Koelawi he burnt its largest village situated on the hill where the village of Bolapapoe is found nowadays. Its name recalls this event, *b o l a* meaning village, *p a p o e*, burnt. When this happened the natives

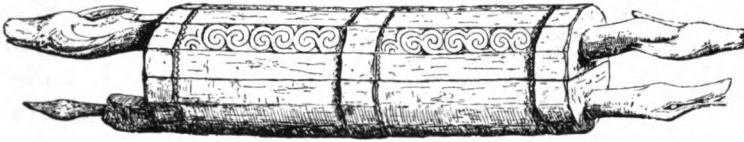


Fig. 25. — Toloemoepalio's sarcophagus.

could not tell, but a Koelawian woman who was forty, perhaps forty-five years old in 1918, said it was when her mother was a baby of four or five years. If her mother married at twenty, the usual age for a girl to marry in Koelawi, Bolapapoe would have been burnt about sixty-five years ago, i. e. in the eighteen-fifties. The fact that Toloemoepalio's grandson was head of Lindoe in 1918, confirms the woman's statements.

There are several tales of Toloemoepalio's power not only over people and animals but over Nature itself. It was not necessary for him to use a canoe when he wanted to cross Lake Lindoe. The natives said he could walk on the water "just as the Bible tells us of Christ" — and when he did so he was accompanied by all the birds of the lake. If he wanted one of them for his table he just took a bird from the crowd, and if it was not fat enough for him he let it loose and took a better one.

In the village of Bolabaoe on the northern end of Lindoe Island there was still in 1919 a big house which was said to have been Toloemoepalio's. Like most native structures in this region it rested on a number of piles. It was nearly ten metres long and six wide and contained a big front room with two fire-places, and two small rooms, only two metres wide, on one side along the short end of the house. Each of these small rooms had a doorway leading to the big room, and they were said to have been used as bedrooms for Toloemoepalio and his family. Underneath these rooms stood on the ground a large wooden coffin in bad condition. It was richly decorated with

carvings. There was a fence all round it from the ground to the floor of the house. In the sarcophagus which had a length of two metres, the natives said there was a smaller wooden coffin which harboured the bones of the powerful Radja Toloemoepalio (Fig. 25 p. 107). In 1919 when I visited the place there were in one of the small rooms some relics which were said to have belonged to Toloemoepalio. These were: a brass tray, *doela*, a clay pot, fragments of a sleeping mat and some rags which had been his clothes. Nobody could remember who his wife was, but my informants knew he had a son called Tokeri. Possibly there had been an elder son, Tokese.

Children:

- 1 s. **Tokese (Tomeramala**, no doubt a shortening for Tomai Ramala) †.  
Some people in Lindoe said he was the elder brother of
- 2 s. **Tokere** †. Presumably he was born about 1850. He was the *maradika* who negotiated with the cousins SARASIN when they visited Lindoe in 1902. They call him Tomelatoin-da, a shortening for Tomai Latoinda (Fig. 26 p. 109).

Children:

- 1 ? **Latoinda**, died when a baby.
- 2 d. **Podei (Tina Boelawa)** who married Mantoeli (Tomai Wenta) of Family III.
- 3 s. **Lakoentoe Tomai Mampo** Fig. 27 p. 110), presumably born in the eighteen seventies. He was made head of the Koe-lawi district when Tomai Dado in 1915 was removed from his post. When Magaoe Tomampe died in 1918 he acted as a





F. SARASIN Photo 1902

**Fig. 26. — Tomelatoinda.**



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 27. — Tomai Mampo.

M a g a o e until the Dutch Government had appointed a new ruler of Koelawi. People did not like Tomai Mampo. After I had left Koelawi in 1919 I heard that he had had the front-teeth of some Toro girls knocked out and those of some boys broken according to old customs. The bonnet he wears on his portrait he bought on the coast. The Mohammedan half-moon in front was to him the horn of a buffalo, an animal of paramount importance in Central Celebes.

m. P o e m a k o (T i n a M a m p o) of  
Family VIII.



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 28. — Hangkorio.

Children:

- 1) s. *Mampo* †
- 2) d. *Hangkorio*, born in 1899, or 1900  
(Fig. 28, Pl. III)
- 3) s. *Bedo*
- 4 s. *Jaroe*, *Djaroe*, or *Palangko-djaroe* (Tai Tagoeni) who was the head of Lindoe at the time of my visits to this district. He had two

wives, and it may appear to my readers that I have made a mistake in my records about who was his first wife and who was his second wife, since the man has taken the name of his son Tagoeni by his second wife and called himself Tai Tagoeni. My informants in this case were Jaroe's two brothers in Koelawi, Tomai Mampo and Tomai Noeroe, and their statement that Haninga was Jaroe's first wife cannot be doubted, for certainly they knew the family if anybody did. The reason why Jaroe did not take the name of Haninga's daughter Maëa must have been that his son nTagoeni by his second wife, Winoë, was born before Maëa. It is quite likely that Haninga had failed to give birth to a child in due time and that this was the reason why her husband had taken a second wife.

There is another example of the same kind on my list. Tomai Hapata of Family III, a half-brother of Tomai Lingkoe's, has taken the name of his first child by his second marriage, supposing that the information about who his first wife was, and who his second wife, is correct.

- m. 1. Haninga (Tina Maëa) of Family III.
- m. 2. Winoë (Tin Tagoeni) of Family XIII.

Child by the first marriage:

- d. Maëa

## Children by the second marriage:

- 1) s. *nTagoeni*
  - 2) d. *nTodada*
- 5 s. *Sigi Paloe* (Tomai Neoroe). This *maradika* lived at Lemoe, a village on the northern ridge extending from Bolapapoe Hill. He resembled his brother Tomai Mampo but his manners were more easy and friendly than those of his elder brother. In 1905 he had joined the men from Koelawi and Lindoe who tried to stop the Dutch colonial troops on Mount Momi north of Koelawi. He was wounded by a bullet from a rifle. The bullet passed right through his body. He recovered, however, without medical assistance. He and his family were most sadly afflicted by the influenza. He lost three of his own children and an adopted son in a few days.
- m. 1. *nKamomi* (Tina Noeroe) of Family III.
  - m. 2. *Lohei* (Tina Magoerisi) of Family III.

These two women were half-cousins.

## Children by the first marriage:

- 1) s. *Noeroe*, died as a baby.
- 2) s. *Rende*, or *Hende*, died in December 1918 of the influenza. He was about six years old.
- 3) s. *nTandakiri*, died in December 1918 of the influenza.
- 4) d. *Makoeboela*, a baby in 1918. Later she was called *Swea*, a name suggested by the missionary Mr. ROSENLUND.

## Children by the second marriage:

- 1) s. Born in 1917, died in December 1918 of the influenza. He had not got a name at that time.
- 2) s. *Magoerisi*

## Adopted child:

- s. *Linge* who died in December 1918 of the influenza. He was about four years old.
- 6 d. *Toerolontja*, or *Toroelontja* (*Tina Dado*) †. She married *Rampeowa* (*Tomai Dado*). He was of Family I.
- 7 s. *Idompo* †. Presumably born in the middle of the eighties, died in 1914 or 1915. In all probability this *maradika* is the man the cousins *SARASIN* call "Prins Dampo" (Fig. 29 p. 115). He was an ardent follower of Islam. At the missionary's open-air meetings his behavior was sometimes so indecent that *Magaoe Tomampe* in spite of his being a Mohammedan himself, scolded him for his conduct. *Idompo*, on his sickbed, sent, however, for the missionary Mr. *Loois* but he could not help him and he died. *Idompo* was not liked by his countrymen who believed that he practiced sorcery.
- m. *Horonai*, or *Hoeronai* of Family VIII.

## Children:

- 1) d. *Matoeia*
- 2) s. *mPamoerasa*



F. SARASIN Photo 1902

Fig. 29. — Idompo, "Prinz Dompö."



W. KAUDERN Photo 1918

Fig. 30. — Tokeda, daughter of Tomai Palaha.

## XVII

**Lindoe Family No. 2**

Possibly this is merely a branch of the previous family which has remained in Lindoe.

TAMEKOERANDI (TOMAI PALAHA) was from Lindoe but had married a girl from Koelawi and settled in this district.  
m. TODJARI, ITODJARI, or ITOEDJARI (TINA PALAHA) of Family IV.

## Children:

- 1 ? Palaha, who died as a baby.
- 2 d. Nandoe who married nTogero of Family XV.
- 3 s. Kapoei, in 1918 about twenty-five years old.  
He was appointed surveyor of roads in Koelawi by the Dutch. He had been brouhgt up on



the coast and was an ardent follower of Islam.  
As mentioned in the foregoing he was a friend  
of Tomampe's.

**4 d. Tokeda (Fig. 30 p. 116).**

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During the course of the work the then missionary of Koelawi, Mr. J. LOOIS, gave me considerable valuable assistance and after I had left Koelawi I received from the late missionary Mr. E. ROSENLUND certain complementary information. From my friend Brigadier O. STRANLUND I have received several photographs of Koelawian *maradika* and from Doctor F. SARASIN I have received two photographs, those of Tomelatoinda and Prins Dompō. For all this help I wish to extend hearty thanks. To publisher Bonnier I would also like to extend my thanks for his kindness in putting at my disposal a number of clichés.

## List of Names

The figures refer to the numbers of the families

### *Men*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>A</i></p> <p>12 Ambo</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>B</i></p> <p>12 Bande<br/>12 Baso<br/>16 Bedo<br/>12 Bentei<br/>8 Bentjara<br/>15 Beroa<br/>8 Boeletoe or Woeletoe<br/>12 Boendoe<br/>5 Bokoede (Tomai Nabi)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>D</i></p> <p>1 Dado<br/>6 Daroeati or Radoeati<br/>16 Djaroe, Jaroe or Palangko-<br/>djaroe (Tai Tagoeni)<br/>7 Djiloi (Tai nGenta)<br/>8 Doerio (Tai Tohimo)<br/>3 Dolo or Idolo<br/>16 Dompoe or Idompoe</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>G</i></p> <p>1 Gempo<br/>8 Girandoe (Tai Lolage)<br/>8 Gisilore (Taimen Toila)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>H</i></p> <p>6 Haloempana<br/>3 Hambibi (Tomai Lagaga)<br/>3 Hapata</p> | <p>8 Hebe or Isebe<br/>16 Hende or Rende<br/>15 Hintoe, Sintoe or Sinto<br/>15 Holoi</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>I</i></p> <p>3 Idjoe<br/>3 Idolo or Dolo<br/>16 Idompoe or Dompoe<br/>2 Impagoeroe or mPagoeroe<br/>(Tomai Kaloeara)<br/>14 Irentja or Rentja (Tomai<br/>Horlodji)<br/>3 Isa<br/>8 Isebe or Hebe<br/>4 Itona or Tona (Tai Todjari)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>J</i></p> <p>13 Jaho (Tomai Limbagoe)<br/>16 Jaroe, Djaroe or Palangko-<br/>djaroe (Tai Tagoeni)<br/>7 Joesoe</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>K</i></p> <p>17 Kapoei<br/>12 Koelandi<br/>3 Koemeno<br/>14 Kontooeda<br/>10 Koroba</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>L</i></p> <p>11 Labontoe<br/>5 Ladjoema (Tai Bidja)</p> |
|---|---|

- 3 Lagaga
- 11 Lagane (Tai Tempa)
- 14 Lagimpoe (Tai Rentja)
- 8 Lahagi (Tomai Hebe)
- 6 Lahoirā (Tai Lamaniri)
- 11 Lahongi
- 15 Lahore (Tomai Sinto or Hin-tooe)
- 16 Lakoentoe (Tomai Mampo)
- 1 Lamahatōe or Tohatōe
- 12 Lambani
- 3 Lamboe
- 3 Larasa
- 4 Lawegaoe
- 1 Lembega
- 1 Lempa
- 1 Lihidondo
- 13 Limbagoe
- 16 Linge
- 3 Lingkoe

*M*

- 16 Magoerisi
- 3 Mahali (Moesa)
- 3 Makoeasa (Tomai Lingkoe)
- 3 Mampeli (Tai Lamboe)
- 16 Mampo
- 3 Mantoeli (Tomai Wenta)
- 16 Maradindo or Toloemoepalio
- 8 Maradjoeni
- 15 Masi
- 7 Medja
- 15 Mentjeho
- 3 Mesagala (Tomai Mampeli)
- 2 Moengiri

*m- -*

- 9 mBoli (Tai Tawelana)
- 3 mBosolaboe or nTodjanek
- 2 mPagoeroe or Impagoeroe
- 16 mPamoerasa
- 4 mPangata, mPengata, Pang-gata or Pengata
- 12 mPatakoe
- 4 mPengata see mPangata

- 7 mPodate or Pondate (Tai or Tomai Djiloi)
- 11 mPotondoe or Potondoe (Tai Tora)

*N*

- 16 Noeroe
- 7 nGenta
- 2 nKaloeara
- 5 nKaroepa
- 4 nTadjoeli
- 16 nTagoeni
- 8 nTaloendoe
- 16 nTandakiri
- 2 nTaratati
- 12 nTjalaga (Tai or Tomai Palopo)
- 8 nTjoboe
- 12 nTjoegi
- 5 nTjoemanga or Tjoemangga (Tai Powintoe or Poewintoe)
- 10 nTobagoe
- 3 nTodjanek or mBosolaboe
- 10 nToëke (Tomai Tjawelangi)
- 15 nTogero
- 11 nTolaki (Tai Komo)
- 3 nTondari or nTondori
- 7 nTowoa or Towoa (Tomai Rengke or Tomai Torengke)

*ng- -*

- 5 ngKarihi

*O*

- 13 Oloe

*P*

- 13 Padoengkoe (Tai Jaho)
- 15 Pagira (Tai Tjeho or Tai Mentjeho)
- 12 Pakewa (Tomain Potoloe)
- 8 Pakiloe (Tai Tandoele)
- 10 Palandoe

- 16 Palangkodjaroe, Jaroe or Djaroe (Tai Tagoeni)  
 12 Palopo  
 4 Panggata, Pengata, mPangata or mPengata  
 3 Pantjoeroro  
 5 Parapalembea (Tomai Ladjoea)  
 12 Parewa (Tai or Tomai Tomoea)  
 12 Pegioe  
 8 Pendenga  
 4 Pengata see Panggata  
 9 Polo  
 7 Pondeate or mPodate (Tai or Tomai Djiloi)  
 10 Pondi  
 7 Potempa (Tomai Paoe)  
 12 Potoloe  
 11 Potondoe or mPotondoe (Tai Tora)  
 10 Potontja (Tai Rahidi)

## R

- 6 Radoeati or Daroeati  
 1 Rampeowa (Tomai Dado)  
 10 Randoelawi (Tai Kamboe)  
 16 Rende or Hende  
 7 Rengke  
 14 Rentja or Irentja (Tomai Horlodji)  
 8 Rongko (Tain Toroë)  
 3 Roendoe (Tomai Isa)

## S

- 15 Sanga  
 3 Sapata or Hapata  
 16 Sigi Paloe (Tomai Noeroe)  
 15 Sinto, Sintoe or Hintoe

## T

- 13 Tagasa  
 8 Tagoeni  
 17 Tamekoerandi (Tomai Palaha)

- 10 Tandalo (Tai Tango)  
 4 Tandoe  
 4 Tanibia (Tai Pengata or Taim Panggata)  
 3 Tawana  
 11 Tempa  
 11 Tepo  
 9 Tikoe  
 10 Timbabiboe  
 3 Timonga  
 1 Tjabadara (Tomai Toeroroe)  
 5 Tjoemangga or nTjoemangga (Tai Powintoe or Poewintoe)  
 13 Tobika (Tomai Oloe)  
 4 Tobeke  
 1 Tobeke (Tomai Lihidondo)  
 3 Todapa  
 6 Togawoe (Tomai Radoeati)  
 4 Togie  
 1 Tohaboe  
 1 Tohama (Markus)  
 1 Tohatoe or Lamahatoe  
 8 Tohimo (Tai Paholi)  
 5 Tohoba (Tai Karoea)  
 12 Tohoemonda (Tai Koelandi)  
 8 Toila (Tomai Noengkoe)  
 16 Tokeri (Tomai Latoinda or Tomelatoinda)  
 16 Tokese (Tomeramala or Tomai Ramala)  
 16 Toloemoepalio  
 15 Tomampe  
 17 Tomekorandi (Tomai Palaha)  
 4 Tona or Itona (Tai Todjari)  
 5 Toneke  
 4 Tongke  
 11 Tora  
 3 Torongko (Tomai Tiroa)  
 3 Towera  
 7 Towoa or nTowoa

## W

- 8 Woeletoe or Boeletoe

*Women**A*

13 Ampidjala (Tina Oloe)

*B*

8 Banaoge (Tina Kalamboe)  
 12 Baëo (Tina Koelandi)  
 3 Benaia  
 15 Binoekoe (Tina Toroë)  
 8 Bitoeë (Tina Noengkoe)  
 3 Boelawa

*D*

3 Datorea (Tina Palopo)

*H*

11 Hamia  
 16 Hangkorio  
 3 Haniga or Haninga (Tina Maëa)  
 10 Hari  
 3 Himbai  
 1 Hoeboe or nTohoboe  
 10 Hoeri  
 8 Hoeronai or Horonai  
 14 Horlodji  
 8 Horonai see Hoeronai

*I*

8 Iangi  
 7 Irantebada  
 17 Itoedjari, Itodjari or To-  
 djari (Tina Palaha)  
 15 Iwalengkoe or Walengkoe  
 15 Iwalida

*K*

5 Kadera  
 3 Kadoedoe  
 15 Kahania

8 Kalamboe (Tina Haninga)  
 8 Kiha or Kika  
 9 Koeka  
 3 Koeti  
 15 Kombadja or Tobadja  
 11 Komo

*L*

6 Lamaniri (Tina Poraha)  
 6 Limboeroe  
 4 Lindoerea  
 8 Loengkoenoeno  
 3 Lohei

*M*

16 Maëa  
 3 Magdalena  
 16 Makoeboela (Swea)  
 3 Manoeroe  
 4 Maoewa or Tomahejo  
 4 Mariana  
 16 Matoeja  
 1 Moelia (Marta)  
 3 Mole (Tina Lingkoe)  
 5 Moni

*m - -*

4 mBaja  
 3 mPaigoe (Tina Lohei)  
 3 mPatoboe (Tina Moesa or Moetja)  
 3 mPeroë  
 7 mPodoenoe or Podjoenoe  
 1 mPohengko, mPosengko, Po-  
 hengko or Posengko (Tina Tora)  
 8 mPomako or Poemako (Tina Mampo)  
 7 mPomola, Pomona or Po-  
 moela (Tina Hebe)  
 4 mPoreka (Tina Tongke)

- 1 mPosengko see mPohengko  
(Tina Tora)  
5 mPotainoe (Tina Latoinda)  
7 mPotente (Tina Karoepa)  
6 mPotere  
5 mPotoli

## N

- 8 Nai  
17 Nandoe  
8 Noengkoe

## n - -

- 7 nKalea or Sengkalea (Tina  
Mentjeho)  
3 nKamomi (Tina Noeroe)  
4 nKaroeani  
9 nKodoe or ngKodoe  
9 nTawelana or Tawelana  
2 nTipa  
12 nTjaka  
10 nTjawelangi (Tina Rahidi)  
4 nTobe  
16 nTodada  
6 nTodoela  
11 nToedali  
11 nToepoea  
1 nTohoboe or Hoeboe  
7 nTohongki  
15 nTohontjo  
12 nTopeka  
3 nTopere (Tinein Powintoe or  
Poewintoe)  
11 nToraë or Toraë (Tina Djari)  
5 nToreo  
11 nToringko  
7 nTowongi (Tinem Paoe)

## ng - -

- 9 ng Kodoe or nKodoe  
12 ngSandeles

## P

- 8 Palinge (Tinen Kaloeara)  
7 Panaroe  
5 Pangkoroe  
16 Podei (Tina Boelawa)  
7 Podjoenoe or mPodoenoe  
8 Poemako, Pomako or mPo-  
mako (Tina Mampo)  
7 Pomoela, Pomona or mPo-  
mola (Tina Hebe)  
1 Pohengko, Posengko, mPo-  
hengko or mPosengko (Tina  
Tora)  
3 Pondito (Tina Lamboe)  
15 Ponito (Tina Kahania)  
5 Powintoe or Poewintoe

## R

- 3 Rari (Tina Tandoe)  
10 Rahidi  
4 Ratabana  
4 Ronaë (Tina Togië)

## S

- 3 Salama (Tina Tiroa)  
1 Sambite  
7 Sengkalea or nKalea (Tina  
Mentjeho or Tinen Tjeho)  
16 Swea = Makoeboela

## T

- 6 Taeba (Tina Potaha)  
3 Taipa  
12 Talame (Tina Potoloe)  
3 Tale  
3 Talebana  
3 Talimoe (Tina nGenta)  
7 Tanoko  
12 Taoende  
9 Tawelana or nTawelana  
1 Tawongi or Tawongoe (Tina  
Limbagoë)  
3 Tiroa  
7 Tite

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 Tjaheboenga (Tina Lihidondo)                    | 11 Tomido                                 |
| 10 Tjindirio                                      | 12 Tomoea                                 |
| 3 Tjindiwongi or Tosindi (Tina Rongko)            | 10 Tomone (Tina Kamboe)                   |
| 11 Tjoemoea (Tina Tempa)                          | 13 Toningki                               |
| 2 Tjoti   | 3 Topaioe (Tina Lagaga)                   |
| 15 Tobadja or Kombadja                            | 10 Topeko (Tina Gana)                     |
| 1 Tobana  | 3 Topere (Tina Djiloi) (comp. 3 nTopere)  |
| 1 Tobandeoge (Tin Tjawelang)                      | 11 Topire                                 |
| 4 Tobingka (Tina Pangata)                         | 15 Topompe (Tina Hintoe)                  |
| 8 Toboedi (Tina Hongkododa)                       | 3 Toradio (Tina Went)                     |
| 10 Todeni (Tina Dahi)                             | 11 Toraë or nToraë (Tina Djari)           |
| 17 Todjari or Itodjari or Itoedjari (Tina Palaha) | 6 Toraindoe (Tina Lamaniri)               |
| 3 Todoela (comp. 6 nTodoela)                      | 5 Toramaëa (Tina Poto)                    |
| 1 Toemoedoe                                       | 5 Toroehoe (Tina Radoati)                 |
| 1 Toëndi (Tina Tawongoe)                          | 16 Toroelontja or Toerolontja (Tina Dado) |
| 15 Toeribo  | 3 Tosindi or Tjindiwongi (Tina Rongko)    |
| 16 Toerolontja (Tina Dado)                        | 14 Towoti (Tina Rentja)                   |
| 15 Tohiri (Tina Horlodji)                         |   |
| 11 Tohoi (Tina Komo)                              |   |
| 17 Tokeda   |   |
| 1 Tokia (Tina Tohoera)                            |   |
| 4 Tolana  |   |
| 11 Tomaëgoe                                       |   |
| 4 Tomaheio (or Maoewa acc. to Rosenlund)          |   |
| 3 Tomataia  |   |

*W*

- |                            |
|----------------------------|
| 15 Walengkoe or Iwalengkoe |
| 15 Walihoera               |
| 3 Went                     |
| 13 Winoë (Tin Tagoeni)     |
| 15 Wiwi                    |

*Sex unknown to me*

- |          |          |                    |          |
|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|
|          | <i>B</i> |                    | <i>H</i> |
| 2 Bandoe |          | 3 Hapata           |          |
| 5 Bidja  |          | 1 Hoenggoe         |          |
|          |          | 8 Hongkododa       |          |
|          |          | 9 Horae            |          |
|          | <i>D</i> |                    | <i>K</i> |
| 10 Dahi  |          | 14 Kaimoemoe       |          |
|          |          | 4 Kalohi or Kalosi |          |
|          | <i>G</i> | 3 Kamogi           |          |
| 10 Gana  |          | 9 Kaodjoe or Odjoe |          |

*L*

- 14 Lahora  
16 Latoinda  
8 Lolage

*N*

- 5 Nabi

*O*

- 9 Odjoe or Kaodjoe

*P*

- 17 Palaha  
8 Paholi  
7 Paoe

- 6 Poraha

- 6 Potaha

- 11 Potari

- 5 Poto

*R*

- 3 Roegoe

*T*

- 3 Tandoele

- 8 Tango

- 1 Toeroroe

- 1 Tohoera

- 8 Toroë



## PLATE I



Toemoedoe, daughter of Tomai Dado. Her head-band is a tali potaja, her skirt of black bast cloth is of a pattern from Kantewoe and used with festival clothes. Her tunic is a typical Koelawian one. In the background is a woven fabric from Pada (Sekopada).

Painting in oils, 100 cm by 74 cm, by W. KAUDERN.



PLATE II



Tohama, son of Tomai Dado, secretary of Magaoe Tomampe, dressed  
for a morego.

Painting in oils, 185 cm by 80 cm, by W. KAUDERN.



PLATE III



Hangkorio, daughter of Tomai Mampo, in festal attire. Beside a headband of beads, tali enoe, she wears a kind of crown or diadem called hongko boelawa (hongko helmet, hat, boelawa, gold).

Painting in oils, 67.5 cm by 50 cm, by W. KAUDERN.



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